Daily Report

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Stoltenberg 'Implicitly' Confirms Serb-Croat Talks

AU1911191293 Paris AFP in English 1851 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Paris, Nov 19 (AFP)—The United Nations mediator on the former Yugoslavia, Thorvald Stoltenberg, implicitly confirmed Friday upcoming talks between Serbs and Croats. "Since you know about it, it's no longer a secret," he said in an interview published in the French daily LE MONDE. But he refused to confirm they would take place in Budapest.

Stoltenberg said he was reasonably optimistic about the results of the talks, indicating that they were not the first.

"We assist the parties but we do not participate all the time," he said. "After the rejection of four peace plans, we asked ourselves what we could do and we decided to encourage bilateral negotiations."

Stoltenberg said he was "relatively optimistic" about the conflict in Croatia, but "much less" about Bosnia-Hercegovina, but he added, "we will persevere."

Owen 'Pessimistic' About Early Peace in B-H

AU1911202693 Paris AFP in English 2000 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Geneva, Nov 19 (AFP)—International mediator Lord Owen said Friday he was pessimistic about the chances of an early peace in Bosnia, even though the warring parties have restarted talks.

On Thursday, the three sides to the fighting signed a joint, six-point statement in Geneva pledging not to block delivery of humanitarian relief in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The document's signing followed a day of talks between the UNHCR and Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Croat leader Mate Boban.

But Owen said in Geneva Friday that the parties had "to establish a real framework for dialogue", saying he thought the joint statement was very fragile.

Talks under the guidance of EC mediator Owen and his UN counterpart Thorvald Stoltenberg have been stalled since September, when the Moslem-led Bosnian parliament rejected a plan which divided Bosnia along ethnic lines.

Owen said he was opposed to international sanctions against Zagreb, because those already in place against Serbia had already caused a lot of misery. And he added that Croatia had already taken in a lot of refugees and was more sensitive to its relations with western democracies.

Friday evening Croatian President Franjo Tudjman was due to meet with Silajdzic in Zagreb.

Owen urged the Moslems and Serbs to try to reach a compromise on the status of Sarajevo, and for the Croats and Moslems to do the same on Mostar, claimed as the capital of the self-declared Bosnian Croat republic.

He said he did not like talking about dividing territories in percentage terms, adding: "Quantity is one thing, quality it another. There is a trade off between the two, if you talk for example about Sarajevo or Mostar."

Moslems rejected the peace plan saying they wanted more than the 30 percent of the territory accorded to them under the plan.

Owen also repeated that although the west had a moral obligation to help the civilian population in winter the question had to be asked if they were also helping to feed the war, by permitting aid to get through to the fighters.

Comments on Aid Convoys

LD1911221393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2053 GMT 19 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, November 19 (TANJUG)—Co-chairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Lord David Owen believes certain chances existed for implementation of the declaration on free and unimpeded movement of humanitarian convoys through the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina hit by a 19-month civil war. The declaration was signed on Thursday.

The chief problem was in that the major roads the convoys used pass through are in central Bosnia, the site of fighting between the Bosnian Moslems and Croats, Lord Owen told a press conference in Geneva Friday.

As regards the Serb side, the chances were by far greater for opening the passage for convoys, noted Owen and said opening of humanitarian aid routes from the Yugoslav Adriatic port city of Bar (in Montenegro) to Sarajevo and from Belgrade to Sarajevo were likely.

He warned that the Bosnian Croats should to a greater degree speak their own mind, and the Republic of Croatia must stop militarily aiding the Bosnian Croats and noted that Belgrade was now much less aiding the Bosnian Serbs.

He said Croatia must be clearly let it be known that it must withdraw its units from Bosnia-Herzegogina. He commented that sanctions, such as the U.N. imposed against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, cannot be introduced against Croatia, as this former Yugoslav republic has, as he said, accepted a large number of Moslem refugees.

The declaration of safe passage of humanitarian convoys through Bosnia-Herzegovina was signed in Geneva by the highest representatives of the state of the Bosnian

Serbs - Republika Srpska (R.S.), the Moslem government in Sarajevo and the state of the Bosnian Croats - Herzeg-Bosnia.

The U.N. Security Council imposed in late may last year comprehensive and binding sanctios against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia over its alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia- Herzegovina, while such measures have not been taken against Croatia, whose regular army committed aggression against Bosnia- Herzegovina and was now fighting om the side of the local Croats against the local Moslems.

ICRC Chief Criticizes Inaction Over Bosnia

AU1911203793 Paris AFP in English 2010 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Nov 19 (AFP)—ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] President Cornelio Sommaruga on Friday expressed optimism after the signing of a Geneva accord on the free passage of aid convoys, but criticised the international community for its inaction over Bosnia.

"I remain optimistic but we wish deeds not words," said Sommaruga, head of the International Committee of the Red Cross, when asked whether the accord would be put into effect on the ground.

He told journalists here the ICRC would also be calling on leaders of all parties to the 19-month war to clean up their human rights record and stop breaches of the Geneva Convention. A top priority now was the release of the estimated 6,000 - mostly civilian—prisoners detained by all three sides, he added.

Urs Boegli, head of ICRC operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Croat forces were holding some 4,500 mainly Moslem prisoners, the Moslem-dominated Bosnian authorities some 1,200 Croats and Serbs, and the Serbs some 490 prisoners.

"I have been greatly disappointed by the international community which has not been able to stop this policy of ethnic cleansing," said Sommaruga. "It is disappointing for an institution like the ICRC that the international community knows what is going on...(but) has not been able by all sorts of means ...to stop this happening here," he said.

Although he refused to say which side had committed the most atrocities, he said "the population which has most suffered from violations of international humanitarian law has been the Moslem population."

Sommaruga said he would be handing leaders of each of the warring parties a confidential report on breaches of the Geneva Convention by their respective forces.

"They (the reports) have the same title, which concerns severe violations of the provisions of the Geneva Convention, as to the engagement of prisoners in the most dangerous work," he said.

All sides in the conflict have been accused as some stage of using prisoners of war to dig trenches on the frontline.

Temporary Lifting of Sanctions Considered

LD2111145893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Bonn, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—France and Germany will tomorrow propose to the European Union ministers that the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia be temporarily suspended during the winter.

According to the proposal the sanctions, would be lifted if the Bosnian Serbs accept to withdraw from between 3 and 4 percent of the territory, as a concession to the Muslims, and if truce is established in the Republic of Serb Krajina, it was learned today in the Bonn diplomatic circles.

However, if the Serbs did not fulfill the obligations, the European Union could reintroduce the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Central European Initiative Meets in Hungary

LD1911222193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky opened the conference of the foreign ministers of the 10 member states of the Central European Initiative [CEI] in the Hungarian town of Debrecen late tonight. Istvan Kulcsar, our correspondent, reports:

[Kulcsar] The aim of the CEI is to ensure that the organ of real cooperation should be a working organization. This is what we dealt with today too, as we worked through the afternoon.

These were the words with which Geza Jeszenszky opened the meeting of the 10 powers. This was a reference by the Hungarian foreign minister to the fact that the participants who arrived in the early afternoon in Debrecen held several bilateral talks with each other. [passage omitted]

In the evening, Jeszenszky held a long discussion with Andrzej Olechowski, the foreign minister of the new Polish Government, whom he met officially for the first time here. They immediately agreed that the Hungarian foreign minister would visit Warsaw as soon as possible—all the signs are that that means even before the NATO summit in January—primarily to coordinate their stand on security issues, on NATO's offer of partnerships to East and Central Europe, and other questions. They will do so because the Brussels document of NATO is not yet finalized yet, and the joint stance might carry weight.

Perhaps the plan of the attending foreign ministers of the Visegrad Group to hold a four-party meeting tonight after the dinner is also connected with this. [passage omitted]

Poland's Olechowski Attends

LD1911233993 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2200 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrzej Olechowski said at an informal meeting of foreign ministers of the Visegrad Group in Debrecen that Poland, the Czech and Slovak Republics, and Hungary should agree on a common stand in the matter of joining NATO.

[Unidentified correspondent] The meeting in Debrecen between foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative [CEI] is the last meeting of foreign ministers to be chaired by Hungary this year.

This regional group, which was created three years ago, at present affiliates 10 countries: Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Macedonia, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, and Italy.

[Olechowski] "The aim of the initiative is to stabilize this part of Europe through dialogue and cooperation, and to facilitate cooperation with institutions in Western Europe—above all with the European Council and the European Union."

[Correspondent] Yet the initiative—as has been underlined by commentators—is undergoing a crisis. It is the crisis of Central Europe, which is seeking to find its place, not since yesterday. Numerous press reports say that this initiative has had its day.

[Olechowski] "I think that it has not had its day even though the great hopes laid on it have not been fulfilled—that is why there are feelings of disappointment."

[Correspondent] The problem of the Balkan war remains unresolved. Inside the initiative, nationality conflicts are coming out into the open, especially the Hungarian-Slovak one. Added to this is the unresolved matter between Hungary and Slovakia concerning the river dam at Gabcikovo-Nagymaros on the Danube. It seems that these matters will be the main subjects of the CEI foreign ministers meeting.

More than 80 projects are being prepared or implemented in 12 working groups. We Poles are particularly involved in one: The building of the North-South highway and the modernization of the railways on this route.

Olechowski Meets Visegrad Ministers

LD2011042393 Warsaw PAP in English 0319 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Debrecen, Nov. 19—Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski held bilateral informal consultations in Debrecen, Hungary, Friday with the Foreign Minister Alois Mock of Austria, Beniamino Andreatta of Italy, Hungary's Geza Jeszenszky and Slovenia's Lojze Peterle as well as the Czech Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Vondra, whom he assured that Poland will continue the present line of its foreign policy and will not give up reforms and democratic transformations.

The consultations were held prior to an official initiation by the Hungarian foreign minister on Friday of a two-day meeting of the foreign ministers of Central European Initiative (CEI) member-states.

According to spokesman for the Polish foreign minister Grzegorz Dziemidowicz, Olechowski presented Poland's position on the future of CEI. The talks also touched upon European security in the context of the forthcoming summit of NATO scheduled for January and a meeting of foreign ministers of CSCE member-states.

A meeting of foreign ministers of the Visegrad group including Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia is expected late in the evening. According to Dziemidowicz, the talks will focus on the issue of NATO membership for these countries. In Poland's opinion the

Visegrad four should strive for NATO membership in tandem, Dziemidowicz said.

Olechowski on Security, Bosnia

LD2011213793 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] At a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative [CEI] countries in Debrecen, Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski said that Poland, the Czech and Slovak Republics, and Hungary should take a common stand in the matter of joining NATO. In the final document the ministers announced that the CEI states would in the near future focus on regional economic cooperation and the protection of national minorities. [passage omitted]

[Olechowski] "All our countries see their position in Europe similarly and view the security issues in a similar way. I would tell a lie if I said that this is the final decision, that we will speak with one voice and I do not know whether such a decision will be made. I shall be glad, however, if this is not one voice but a choir of similar voices. I think that we will continue this dialogue."

[Correspondent Leszek Platta] When talking to journalists about security in Europe, Olechowski said that Poland could not imagine the existence of an effective security system without the participation of Russia. The foreign ministers devoted much attention to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They have appealed to the United Nations for providing compensation, as soon as possible, to the countries that had suffered losses as a result of sanctions imposed on the new Yugoslavia. A special mission is to be sent to Bosnia.

[Olechowski] "The mission will be composed of representatives of the hosts—the Hungarians, an Austrian, an Italian, and a Pole. This would be organized in the spirit of missions investigating the observance of human rights and the possibilities to provide humanitarian aid." [sentence as heard] [passage omitted]

Compensation for Embargo Requested

LD2011162393 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1500 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] The foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative [CEI] countries have called on the United Nations Organization to compensate the countries grouped within the Initiative as quickly as possible for the losses they have sustained as a result of the embargo imposed on the new Yugoslavia.

In a joint declaration adopted at the end of the two-day meeting in Debrecen, the foreign Ministers present there called for a halt to the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and for convoys with humanitarian aid to be allowed into the territories where there is conflict.

The document speaks of the economic cooperation of the [CEI] member states, the protection of national minorities, and of expanding the Initiative to include other countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The ministers underlined that cooperation within the framework of the CEI will contribute to the economic and political stabilization of the region and of the whole of Europe. They also expressed the hope that in the future all the countries grouped in the Initiative will become members of the European Union with full rights.

Meeting Ends; Closing Document

LD2011163293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] [Announcer] The meeting of Central European Initiative [CEI] foreign ministers has ended in Debrecen. Istvan Kulcsar reports.

[Kulcsar] The plenary session in the Bartok hall of the Aranybika Hotel has ended. The ministers approved unanimously the joint closing document that will be outlined at a news conference beginning at 1400 hours.

The main subject of the plenary session was economic and political cooperation of the countries of the region, as well as discussion of the southern Slav crisis.

A few minutes after the meeting of the foreign ministers ended, Deputy State Secretary Janos Herman, who was accompanying Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, made an important announcement: Geza Jeszenszky will not make an official visit to Slovakia in the second half of next week. The issue at hand from the outset has been that a new border crossing between Letkes and Salka would be opened on the Hungarian-Slovak border at the time of the visit. No confirmation of this has been received from the Slovak side. Nor has the Hungarian side received a reply to its most recent note in connection with this.

The spokesman did not draw a direct link between the postponement of the minister's visit and the fact that the preparation of the Hungarian-Slovak deportation agreement had not yet reached the stage of completion. Janos Herman also pointed out that Geza Jeszenszky had not called off his visit to Slovakia, generally, the only thing was that he would not travel there in the second half of next week.

'Text' of Closing Document

AU2211094393 Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 20 Nov (MTI)—The Central European Initiative (CEI) Foreign Ministers' Conference ended with a closing document in Debrecen, eastern Hungary, on Saturday afternoon [20 November]

Below, we carry the full text of the document.

Political part

The ministers for foreign affairs of Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, FYR of Macedonia, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia met on 19-20 November, 1993 in Debrecen for the regular autumn ministerial meeting of the Central European Initiative (CEI).

The ministers expressed their deep regret that within the framework of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), no lasting peaceful solution to the crisis has been achieved as yet. They condemned the continuing military attacks within the territory of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and reaffirmed their commitment to ensure respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of both states. In this context, they stressed the utmost importance of finding a political solution. They also appreciated the latest ideas being considered by the European Union and by the co-chairmen of the ICFY on a comprehensive approach aimed at solving in two stages all aspects of the crisis, primarily the settlement of the conflict in Bosnia- Herzegovina and a modus vivendi for the areas of Croatia under the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] mandate (UNPAS [United Nations Protected Areas]) as an interim step, and successively a definitive solution to the problem of the UNPAS, the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina within Serbia, as well as the protection of the rights of the Muslim population in the Sandjak.

The ministers, deeply concerned about the further deterioriation of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, stressed the need to take all possible actions to produce an immediate and uncondititional halt to hostilities and establish peace before the coming winter. In this context, they called on the Bosnian Serb Army to stop the shelling of Sarajevo and other areas besieged by it. They also called on the Croatian Council of Defence (HVO) and the regular Bosnian Army to stop fighting in central Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to bring to justice all those responsible for the atrocities being committed in those areas.

The ministers called upon all parties to the conflict in Bosnia- Herzegovina to take all necessary measures to ensure the free flow of humanitarian aid. They expressed in this regard their full support for the European Union declaration of 29 october, 1993 on the continuation of humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and called on all parties to cooperate fully with the international relief organizations so as to provide secure access for deliveries to the population on all territories affected. They called for the urgent opening of the airports at Tuzla, Bihac and Mostar for the delivery of humanitarian aid.

They also condemned all forms of violation of international humanitarian law, specifically the policy and practice of ethnic cleansing, the systematic destruction of mosques, churches, synagogues and other religious monuments and institutions of cultural heritage in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

While expressing great concern about the situation in the Republic of Croatia, the ministers welcomed the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 871, and called on the parties concerned to negotiate in good faith and facilitate its rapid implementation, thus contributing to the full realization of the UN peace-keeping plan for the country. They reaffirmed the importance of fully reintegrating the UN Protected Areas (UNPAS) into the social, economic, political and legal system of Croatia, enabling the return of displaced persons and refugees to their homes, with the necessary provisions for territorial self-government in the areas where the Serbian minority represented the majority of the population according to the latest census, and cultural autonomy of the Serbian ethnic community. In this respect, the ministers considered the latest proposals provided by the Croatian Government to be an important and commendable step furthering the peace process in Croatia. The ministers, among other matters, acknowledged the importance of immediately reopening all road and rail communications, repairing of power and water-supply facilities in the Republic of Croatia, including the Adriatic oil pipeline.

The ministers noted that all the countries of the region were being seriously affected by the implementation of the UN Security Council's sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and asked the un bodies concerned to find appropriate ways of compensating these states in the shortest possible time for the losses they have suffered.

The ministers appealed to the government in Belgrade to intensify its efforts for a substantial contribution to the peace process in accordance with all relevant UN resolutions, and considered such an attitude as one of the major preconditions for admission of the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) to the CEI.

The ministers reaffirmed their commitment to strengthen cooperation among the countries in Central Europe linked by historical and geographical bonds. They considered regional cooperation within the CEI not as an alternative but as a complement to multilateral efforts for European integraiton in such broader fora as the CSCE, the European Union, the Council of Europe and others. They noted with satisfaction that the cooperation within CEI, as an element of an emerging new European architecture, is a substantial contribution to the strengthening of political and economic stability at an all-European level.

Bearing this in mind, the ministers agreed to continue strengthening the role of the CEI as an important forum for

- identifying the most urgent needs of its member states, particularly in the fields of eocnomic and infrastructural

development, science and technology, and culture, with a view to find appropriate solutions,

- organizing political dialogue on selected issues among the members states,

- formulating, wherever possible, joint positions to be presented at international fora, and elaborating, in special cases, common documents,

- exchanging information on experiences concerning the implementation of internationally accepted norms and principles of democracy, human and minority rights, as well as of market economy in the CEI region.

On the occasion of the entering into force of the Treaty of Maastricht, the ministers welcomed the establishment of the European Union, which they regarded as a crucial step in the European integration process. The ministers expressed the wish that in the future all CEI member states, identifying themselves with the basic principles and aims formulated by the treaty, will become an integral part of the European Union.

The ministers had an exchange of views on the development of contacts with non-member states, taking into account the different degrees of interest they have manifested in cooperating with the CEI and their invovlement in its activitites. It was agreed that for the time being, the member states will concentrate on efforts to consolidate the initiative and to improve its efficiency, and therefore an enlargement of the CEI appeared premature.

The ministers took note with satisfaction of the interest shown by Belarus, Bulgaria, Romania and Ukraine, and stressed the relevance of the contact committee as the main forum for discussing and developing relations with them. The need to strengthen the operative role of the contact committee and to convene it at foreign ministers, level, if so requested, was also emphasized.

Bavaria's continued presence as a special guest in the contact committee was also recommended with a view to its active participation in several working groups.

Concerning the applications for CEI membership submitted by Albania and Moldova, the ministers welcomed their interest and took note of the decision by the national coordinators to offer these countries the possibility of participation in the working groups of the initiative. Concrete action on participation in the working groups of interest to them would be taken in the light of the results and conclusions of a fact-finding mission undertaken by the chair.

The ministers also took note of the interest expressed by the Russian Federation in the CEI, and decided to give a mandate to the troika of the national coordinators to continue exchanging information with high-level representatives of the MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] of Russia on matters of mutual interest.

The ministers encouraged the continuation of expert consultations on selected political issues, and underlined the need to concentrate on specific problems. In this context, they welcomed the offer by Poland to host the first meeting of a new consultation group on xenophobia, illegal migration and extremist violence in mid-January 1994 in Warsaw. They also mandated the CEI consultation group on CSCE to explore the possibility of joint contribution to the CSCE Budapest review conference in 1994. They expressed their support for the admission of FYR of Macedonia to the CSCE as a participating state at its next ministerial meeting in Rome.

The ministers expressed their support for the efforts aimed at the admission to the Council of Europe of CEI countries that are not members yet.

The ministers noted with satisfaction the progress made by the working group on minorities in elaborating an instrument for the protection of minority rights in the CEI region. The ministers called upon the working group to conclude the formulation of the above instrument as soon as possible, taking into account the need to strengthen the balance between the role of the state and the rights of persons belonging to national minorities. They expressed their opinion that the success of such an endeavour could be a significant contribution to the work being undertaken by the Council of Europe on the same issue in an all-European framework. To this purpose, the establishment of closer working contacts between the CEI working group on minorities and the relevant bodies of the Council of Europe was deemed desirable. In their opinion, the review of the situation of national minorities in individual CEI member states, the identification of problems and the comparison of various views and practices were contributing to improving the spirit of mutual confidence and understanding. Therefore, they encouraged the continuation of such reviews in the future.

The ministers stressed the need for maintaining continuous contacts with regional organizations and groupings, with a view to strengthening intra-European cooperation. They noted with satisfaction the invitation from the chairman of the Black Sea economic cooperation sent to the country holding the CEI chairmanship to attend its meeting of foreign ministers on the 9th December in Sofia and recommended acceptance of it.

The ministers underlined the importance of the development of contacts between parliamentarians within the CEI framework. They took note of the meeting of the parliamentary group that was taking place simultaneously in Szeged. In order to improve coordination, they suggested to convene their future meetings at the cities where the ministers meet.

Economic part

The ministers reiterated that increasing economic cooperation within the CEI framework will be an important factor for the development and stabilization of market economy in the countries in transition, bring about

closer collaboration among them and promote the attainment of higher level of integration into Europe. The continued need for the pragmatic approach and flexibility characteristic of the CEI since its establishment was emphasized.

The ministers, while recognizing the continuity in the activities of the working grups on economic issues, discerned differences in the degree of progress being made in project implementation. They took note of the conclusions of the national coordinators that progress, especially in the fields of environment, energy and telecommunications, was lagging behind the objectives foreseen in the 1992 Vienna Declaration of the CEI prime ministers. This was considered all the more regrettable since these areas are of crucial importance to enhancing the transformation of the countries in the region and looked upon as priority fields to be assisted by the European Union, other international organizations and financial institutions. Identified as encouraging signs were the inclusion into the programme of the working group on environment the issues of regional development and the examination of the CEI's contribution to the action programme agreed upon by the meeting of the European environmental ministers held in April 1993 in Luzern.

Cooperation in the fields of culture, the media, migration, science and technology, statistics and transport was assessed as promising, while the performance of the working groups on agriculture, small and medium-sized enterprises and tourism were considered to need encouragement and stronger profile. The fostering of small and medium-sized enterprises was given special emphasis. The ministers took note of a pilot project for the creation of an industrial district.

The ministers invited member states, where such a need exists, to ratify the CEI agreement on the prevention, forecast and mitigation of natural and technical disasters, signed by the foreign ministers at the Vienna summit in July 1992.

The ministers underlined that the conclusions of the Budapest summit in July 1993 reflected and reaffirmed the political commitment of the member states to strengthening economic cooperation within the CEI, while the relevant provisions of the declaration included clear guidance to the working groups in their future activities. The ministers therefore drew the attention of the chairmen of the working groups to the fact that their first aim should be the seeking of areas where a common approach at regional level by coordinating national efforts is desirable, and invited them to concentrate their future efforts on selected priority areas and projects which are economically and financially viable. The ministers also called upon to make increased efforts to involve relevant companies, firms, financial and research institutions in the elaboration and execution of projects, with a view to obtaining practical results. Members of the CEI working groups should interact with officials representing their countries in the financial and relevant international organizations.

The national coordinators were requested to ensure improved coordination with sectoral ministries concerning their multilateral international activities on issues also being dealt with in a CEI framework. In addition, the ministers entrusted the chairman of the Committee of National Coordinators, or the troika, to provide assistance and advice to the working groups on bringing the approved guidelines into effect. The holding of meetings of sectoral ministers simultaneously with the summit, or the reporting of their chairmen to the summit were also recommended. A first step in this direction will be the convening of the working groups on transport and culture, education and youth exchange at ministerial level. The ministers decided that a further review of the activities of the working groups under the new arrangements will be undertaken by the troika prior to the next CEI meeting of the heads of government in 1994.

The ministers welcomed the establishment of the first contact between the CEI troika and the commission of the EC and encouraged the continuation of this dialogue with a view to explore the possibilities for cooperation, e.g. in the field of trans-European network, in the spirit of the conclusions adopted by the Council of Europe in Copenhagen in June 1993.

The ministers welcomed the delegation of the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] headed by the vice-president, who stressed that the European Bank's reorganization was a necessary step in order to improve relations between the bank and its clients. It is now more geographically focused, hence its regional scope is more clearly defined. The ministers called the attention of the vice-president to the need of the bank to recognize in all its activities the value of regional cooperation as an essential component of the evolving European architecture. They took note of the information provided about the bank's contribution to assisting CEI activities in selected areas, and invited EBRD to enhance the position of the Secretariat and to strengthen the team of experts responsible for providing assistance to the working groupos. The bank has also been requested to continue and increase efforts to help the CEI members states achieve rengible results in infrastructural development and to provide its assistance in the implementation of CEI priority projects, selected in other areas by the working groups which would meet the bank's criteria.

The ministers called the attention of the international community to the need for joint efforts to reconstruct the areas affected by the war, particularly in the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

The ministers mandated the national coordinators to consider the development of future cooperation among the chambers of commerce of the CEI member states. The ministers also favoured the development of the social dimension within the CEI framework.

The ministers reconfirmed their willingness to develop economic cooperation with regional organizations and working communities in forms of regular exchange of views and information in order to compound their effectiveness.

The ministers expressed their gratitude and commended the Government of Hungary for ensuring an effective and inspiring chairmanship in 1993, and in accordance with the accepted rules of rotation, agreed that the CEI will be chaired by Italy from 1 January, 1994.

Granic Comments on Conference

LD2011200793 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] [Announcer] Foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative [CEI], at the meeting in Debrecen, supported urgent implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 871 and Croatian peace efforts to that end. Ivan Kujundzic reports from Debrecen:

[Kujundzic] Central European countries extend full support to the speedy reintegration of the UNPA [UN protected areas] into the political system of the Republic of Croatia and reiterate their standpoint on respecting internationally recognized Croatian borders. In this context, the Croatian peace initiative is assessed in positive terms. This is written, among other things, in the final document of the conference today in the Hungarian city of Debrecen, where 10 countries of the CEI were represented by their foreign ministers.

Foreign ministers demanded an end to all conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and appealed to Belgrade to make a greater contribution to the peace process. Until it does that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot even think of being accepted into the organization of Central European states, it was said today in Debrecen. The Central European states reiterated their stance on the need to open as soon as possible all roads and parts of the Adriatic pipeline that are in the occupied parts of Croatia. The Croatian delegation at the gathering is led by Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister. After the end of the plenary session he said:

[Begin Granic recording] The conference passed a joint document with which Croatia is satisfied. Croatia's basic stances regarding the reintegration of the UNPA zones and Bosnia-Herzegovina are present in the declaration.

As for economic cooperation, it is still primarily bilateral, and to a lesser extent multilateral, but some possible joint projects were mentioned, including the founding of the joint chamber of economy for all CEI countries.

As for the work on the document on minorities, which would provide more than the Council of Europe and CSCE can offer at this point in time, Croatia will gladly and actively participate in its drafting and we hope that the document might be finalized by the end of the year.

As for accepting new members—our stance, like stances of most Central European states, is that we will cooperate with all countries that want to cooperate with the CEI, but we are not in favor of enlarging the CEI association too fast. The most interesting discussion was on political issues, particularly on the situation in the UNPA zones in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina and it was decided that a fact-finding mission be sent to Bosnia- Herzegovina. Croatia supported the idea that for now, the most important thing is to end the conflicts, to establish peace, to secure full observance of the warfare and humanitarian law, to provide supplies for the population, to dissolve all detention centers and, of course, to join peace efforts. This is Croatia's basic stance. [end recording]

Zieleniec Opens Prague Conference on C. Europe

AU1911091693 Prague CTK in English 1715 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 18 (CTK)—It would be possible to speak about a positive future of Central and even Western Europe only if its orientation is pan-European, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said when addressing the international conference European Future for Central Europe, which opened here today.

Being part of Europe is neither coincidence nor a gift, of course, Zieleniec said, but it means permanent work and co-responsibility.

The conference, which takes place under the aegis of the Nice-based European Center of European Studies, is also attended by Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu and Belgian Science Minister Jean-Maurice Dehousse.

Macedonian Authorities Condemned for Prison Deaths

AU2111154193 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] The Macedonian authorities continue to arrest Albanians on the pretext of trafficking in arms. Meanwhile, an Albanian suspect who was arrested recently is reported to be dead. Through the telphone, let us follow a report by our correspondent in Skopje, Ibadete Hajrullahu:

[Hajrullahu] The arrest of Albanians in Macedonia under the pretext of possessing considerable armaments and organizing the (?creation) of paramilitary units further continues despite the declaration of minister [words indistinct] that they have dealt with prohibited trade.

On 16 November Halil Latifi from (?Gesok) village in Skopje was invited on an information talk. During the raid at his home, an automatic fire arm and 120 bullets were found. On 17 November, the Prosecutors' Office instigated a charge against him, but what distressed the Albanian population in Macedonia was his death.

Being afraid that the death of Halil Latifi might cause a revolt and an unexpected turmoil among Albanians, the Interior Ministry issued a communique in which gives explanations of his death. The communique states that immediately after Halil Latifi was handed over to the court [words indistinct], he suddenly complained of health problems and was sent to the clinic for cardiovascular diseases where he died shortly after.

Even earlier, there were reports of deaths of Albanians in Macedonia's prisons, not for health reasons but from police maltreatments. As far as the rights of those charged during the latest arrests have been respected, their two defenders say that the police have violated the law on penal procedure during the arrest; they have not handed those arrested [words indistinct] at the scheduled period; they have not ensured the presence of neutral witnesses during raids; they have not made possible a judicial defense since the beginning; and with their brutal behavior they have caused fear and trauma among the members of the families of those arrested.

Death Called 'Ugly Deed'

AU2111154393 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 21 Nov 93

["Another Ugly Deed by Macedonian Police"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 21 (ATA)—The tragic death of Halil Latifi who was put to prison on the charge of being member of a terroristic organization is an ugly deed of Macedonian police. Now it is clear that it is about a trap set by secret Yugoslav army service in cooperation with Albanian and Macedonian officials and Albanian party usurpers in Macedonia.

The attitute of the Macedonian Government to Mr. Latifi's death deserves punishment. It is fully aware of the scenario of the trap which seems to take roots in Belgrade and is spearheaded against Macedonia's interests because the goal is to show that the Albanians are not a factor of peace and stability.

The death of Mr. Latifi in jail and the game which is still going on clearly show that there are persons in the Macedonian Government who wish Macedonia's instability.

Serreqi: Kosovo Key To Yugoslav Crisis Solution

AU2211111293 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 22 Nov 93 p 2

["daga"-initialed report on interview with Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi in Tirana; date not given: "'Solution of Balkan Crisis Begins in Kosovo'"]

[Text] Tirana—"Greek-Albanian relations are very important, not only for the two countries but for the entire Balkans, which have been severely shattered be the wars in the former Yugoslavia," Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi said in an interview with DER STANDARD. Tirana was trying to build up good relations with its southern neighbors and repeatedly offered to initiate talks without any reservations. However, the Greek side has responded with border incidents and propaganda, Serreqi said. Regarding the Greek minority in Albania, a commission of the Council of Europe has determined that their rights are not being infringed by Albania.

The situation is much more dangerous in the north. The powderkeg of Kosovo is threatening to explode in view of the unbearable suppression of the Albanians there by Serbia. The West must finally understand that there is no way out of the Yugoslav crisis without a solution of the Kosovo problem, because it is there where the Yugoslav tragedy started with the suspension of the autonomy for the Albanians, Serreqi said, adding that "it is there where it also has to end."

Regarding the proposal of a "Balkans conference" for the solution of the Yugoslavia crisis with the inclusion of Kosovo, Serreqi noted that it was not necessary to hold new "toothless" conferences, but to seek instruments for ending the conflict: "Unfortunately, there is a great discrepancy between the European principles and their implementation."

Germany's Schmidbauer Visits; Assistance Sought

LD1811205593 Hamburg DPA in German 1743 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana (DPA)—Albania wants Germany to provide more help with restructuring its armed forces and its police. These wishes were expressed by Defense Minister Safet Zhulali and Minister of Public Order Agron Musaraj today during a visit to Tirana, the

Albanian capital, by Bernd Schmidbauer, state minister at the German federal chancellery.

"We are not satisfied with the degree of cooperation between Germany and Albania in the area of defense," Zhulali said in a radio broadcast. In particular, Albania would like a more intensive exchange of experiences between the armed forces from both countries, and also German help with the training of young officers. During a meeting with Schmidbauer, Musaraj called for more professional help and technical assistance for the Albanian police.

On Wednesday, President Sali Berisha and Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi expressed the wish for greater cooperation with Germany in the economic and political spheres.

Discusses Assistance, Crime

AU2011063293 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 19 Nov 93

[" 'We Would Like Albania Continue To Be a Factor for Stability in the Region"—From the Meeting of the Albanian Minister of Public Order With the German Minister of State"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—"We appreciate the aid of Germany for Albania," Agron Musaraj, minister of public order, said in his meeting with the German minister of state, Schmidtbauer, on November 18. "Our specialists who were recently trained in Germany, he said, have profited a lot and are applying what they have learned in the places where they work. We have liked and like Germany take a special place in the relations of Albania with the world."

Mr. Schmidtbauer said that Germany wants Albania to remain in the future too a factor for stability in the region. "Therefore," he continued, "we shall work more to assist Albania. You have all the chances to develop further. A special attention should be attached to the fight against organized crime, because Albania may become a transit country for arms and drug trafficking," Mr. Schmidtbauer said. In this regard," he added, "the German side will be ready for an active cooperation."

The German minister said that he is going to present the Albanian demands to the German Ministry of the Interior and the Office of Criminal Police. He said he was confident that these demands will be realised soon.

Views Cooperation With Zhulali

AU2011063393 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 19 Nov 93

["'Germany Is Interested in Developing Friendly Relations With Albania in all the Fields'—The German State Secretary Declares"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—On November 18, the Albanian minister of defence, Safet Zhulali, had a meeting with the German minister of state, Schmidtbauer. Mr. Zhulali spoke about the reform in the Albanian Army and expressed the desire for a greater cooperation with Germany in the military field. "Through a greater cooperation and support by Germany," Mr. Zhulali said, "both in the economic and military fields, Albania may be able to play actively its role as factor for peace and stability in the region." Then, Mr. Zhulali concentrated on the grave and tense situation in the Balkan region and especially on the aims of Serbia to isolate Albania, its aggressive acts which may lead to the expansion of the conflict. He confirmed at the same time the opinion of Albania not to lift the embargo against Serbia.

Mr. Schmidtbauer confirmed that Albania is a factor for stability in the region, stressing that the situation in the Balkans is dangerous. "Your worries are ours as well, we are ready to help you. Germany is interested that the friendly relations develop in all the fields. The contacts between the German Army and the Albanian Army will expand," he said.

Informs Berisha of Invitation

AU2011063493 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—The Chancellor Helmut Kohl has invited for a visit to Germany the president of Albania, Sali Berisha. The invitation was made through the German state minister, Bernd Schmidtbaur, who finished his three-day visit to Tirana on November 18.

Mr. Berisha accepted the invitation with pleasure and conveyed to the German minister his greetings for Chancellor Kohl.

Over his stay in Tirana, Mr. Schmidtbauer met with senior authorities of Albania, with whom he discussed bilateral relations, the situation in the Balkan region, and other aspects of the international policy.

The minister of defence, Safet Zhulali; the minister of public order, Agron Musaraj; the chairman of the National Information Service, Bashkim Gazidede; and high officials of the Foreign Ministry of Albania saw Mr. Schmidtbauer off at the airport on November 18.

Says Visit 'Very Significant'

AU2011063593 Tirana ATA in English 1114 GMT 19 Nov 93

[" 'Visit Contributing to Cooperation Between Albania and Germany'—Interview of German Minister of State with TV"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—"My visit to Albania was very significant and it was a success," Mr. Schmidtbauer, German minister of state, declared in an interview with the Albanian TV at the end of his visit.

Mr. Schmidtbauer underlined that at the meetings with Albanian senior officials they discussed the future of relations between Albania and Germany. "I believe my visit to Albania will contribute to promotion of the cooperation between Albania and Germany. I invited President Berisha to visit Germany which will offer him the opportunity to meet with senior German officials. Mr. Berisha's visit to Germany will give a new impetus to the good relations between the two countries," Mr. Schmidtbauer said.

In regard to the Balkan issues, Mr. Schmidtbauer stressed that the talks with Albanian officials focused on the current situation in the region and especially on Albania's contribution as an important factor of stability in the Balkans. "Establishment of peace in the Balkans and Albania's contribution to attain it are very significant because the situation in the region may aggravate," Mr. Schmidtbauer stressed.

Italy To 'Change Structure' of Emergency Aid

AU2011062993 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—"The aid of Italy for Albania will not be reduced but its structure will change from an emergency aid into one to improve the situation of the economy," Minister Alois, head of General Department of Cooperation for Development of the Republic of Italy, said during a visit to Tirana recently.

In the lead of a group which represented Italy in the G-24 meeting in Brussels for Albania, he contacted with the Albanian deputy premier, Bashkim Kopliku. The objective of the group was to better know the needs of the Albanian economy for 1994. In the meetings with senior officials in the Ministry of Transports, Construction and Adjustment of Territory, Agriculture and Food, Health and Environmental Protection, they treated problems in connection with cooperation and development between Italy and Albania. The Italian party informed that some projects like "The Silos in the Port of Durres," "Support in the Agro-Zoo-Technical field," "Rehabilitation of the Tirana-Durres Railway" and "Development of the Remote Mountain Zones" are ready.

Mr. Alois proposed that a mid-range plan of cooperation should be prepared for aid in the Albanian economy.

UITUA Asks Berisha for 'Constant Dialogue'

AU1811080493 Tirana ATA in English 0921 GMT 17 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 17 (ATA)—On November 15, Albanian President Berisha met with a delegation of the Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania, headed by the chairman of the union, Valer Xheka. The UITUA [Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania] representatives demanded that dialogue between them and the government and state be constant and include not only legislation but also social and economic problems, and privatization.

The president agreed that their demands are right and that the economic reform cannot be carried out without a constructive dialogue and understanding with the trade union workers.

"The trade unions may discuss problems of legislation before the Constitutional Court, whereas other current and future problems should be resolved through dialogue with the respective ministries," President Berisha said. He said he appreciated the role and contribution the UITUA have rendered to the victory of democracy as well as to the development of reforms and defence of the workers'

Zhelev Claims Berov Cabinet Delaying Reforms

AU1911210193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] We informed you an hour ago of the meeting between President Zhelyu Zhelev and George Szoros, founder of the Foundation for an Open Society. Here are further details about the meeting from our reporter Silviya Velikova.

The Lyuben Berov government came into power on the strength of its promises of radical reforms, but unfortunately to date it has accomplished very little of its program: Privatization is still only at the beginning, and only 35 percent of farmland has been returned to its owners, the president stated. He declared his support for the radical decommunization and radical reforms, and spoke out against the policy of making changes by replacing one political figure with another.

When I speak about stability, I have in mind the radical reforms, especially in the economic field. They do not destabilize the country but, quite the contrary, create security and a stable society, President Zhelev said during his meeting with George Szoros.

Czech Parliament Speaker Visits

Meets Yordanov, Daskalov

AU1811062893 Sofia BTA in English 1811 GMT 17 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—Mr. Milan Uhde, chairman of the House of Representatives of the Czech Parliament, assured Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev that the Czech Republic appreciates highly Bulgaria's support for its election as a nonpermanent member to the UN Security Council, BTA learned from the Government Press Office.

The Czech Republic will support Bulgaria's initiatives and activities seeking compensation for the losses arising from the observation of the UN embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, Mr. Uhde said at the meeting of the Czech delegation with Deputy Prime Minister Matinchev.

Meeting with Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov, Mr. Uhde assessed in positive terms bilateral relations and spoke in favour of their further promotion, the Foreign Ministry's Press Centre told BTA.

The guest stressed the common goals the two countries have in the course of their development and said the Czech Republic is ready to back Bulgaria's initiatives and activities within the United Nations for compensation for the losses resulting from the implementation of the Yugo-embargo.

Mr. Daskalov expressed the will of this country to develop close relations in all spheres with the Czech Republic, which is Bulgaria's long-standing political, business and cultural partner.

Received by President Zhelev

AU1811140893 Sofia BTA in English 1223 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—Bulgaria's President Zhelyu Zhelev received today the visiting Czech parliamentary delegation headed by House of Representatives Chairman Milan Uhde.

Presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov said the two compared the processes in the Czech Republic and Bulgaria en route to market economy and democracy.

It was stressed during the session that Bulgaria and the Czech Republic should cooperate in their drive to get integrated into European structures.

Mr. Uhde thanked Bulgaria's support to the Czech Republic's becoming a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.

The ties between the Czech Republic and the Republic of Bulgaria are good and no open problems exist. We would rather have to explain certain problems to each other, Dr. Milan Uhde told a news conference later in the day.

"During the Sofia meeting we came to the conclusion that our roads are quite similar and are even identical as regards the obstacles we are to surmount and the objectives we want to attain," Mr. Uhde said. The visitors thanked Bulgaria's support to the Czech Republic's Council of Europe membership and support Bulgaria's drive to receive compensations for observing the Yugoembargo.

The NATO membership was also discussed during the meetings.

Dr. Uhde characterized the meetings as useful for the development of friendship between the two countries.

A Czech economic delegation is to visit this country on December 13 and 14, 1993, Dr. Uhde said.

Rejects Visegrad Bid

AU1911071793 Prague CTK in English 1506 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, Nov 18 (CTK)—No open problems exist between Bulgaria and the Czech Republic, Czech Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde said after a meeting with Bulgarian President Zheliu Zhelev today. Uhde finished his three-day visit today.

On the Bulgarian effort to come closer to the Visegrad Group (Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic), he said that he considered it very dangerous to establish any subsystem and to extend the group, as it could delay integration into European structures.

Uhde told journalists that the Czech Republic would probably become co-author of the Bulgarian U.N. initiative aiming to ensure indirect compensation for the damage incurred by third countries because of the sanctions imposed on Serbian-Montenegrine Yugoslavia.

Albanian Prime Minister Meets With Zhelev

AU1911212193 Sofia BTA in English 1508 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 19 (BTA)—Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi of Albania, who paid a three-day official visit here, met with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev before leaving the country today.

"I see that Bulgaria and Albania hold similar views on the situation in the Balkans and want to keep promoting their cooperation in all areas," Mr. Meksi said after the meeting. Asked by a reporter whether there was still some differences between the two countries' positions, Mr. Meksi said that Albania believes that the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro should be tightened.

The two leaders considered the situation in the Balkans and voiced concern over the threat of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina spreading to Kosovo and Macedonia. They reaffirmed their support for the continued and strict observance of the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, the Bulgarian president's spokesman told the press after the meeting. He also said that the two presidents supported the project of a southern transport link between Bulgaria and Albania.

During his visit, the Albanian head of government also conferred with Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and with National Assembly Chairman Alexander Yordanov.

Yordanov, Meksi View Cooperation

AU2011061393 Tirana ATA in English 1111 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—The chairman of the National Assembly of Bulgaria received on November 18 the premier of Albania, Aleksander Meksi, who is on a visit to Bulgaria. During the talk they exchanged opinions on the role and functioning of the parliament in the post communist transitory period. "We have similar problems," Mr. Yordanov said, pointing to the fact that within a short time the Bulgarian Parliament has passed laws which have changed the view of Bulgaria. Mr. Yordanov said cooperation between Bulgaria and Albania should intensify in all the fields, considering these relations "as bridges of balance between the east and the west." Mr. Yordanov evaluated the Albanian policy towards the minority describing it as "a modern stand according to European standards." He also voiced the Bulgarian stands towards the situation in the region, by denouncing Serbian national chauvinism and appreciated the realistic position of the Albanian Government towards these developments.

Mr. Meksi stressed the need of elevating the level of bilateral cooperation in the economic field pointing out the fact that there are fields of interest in Albania for Bulgarian investors. He presented to the speaker Yordanov the need of creating facilities for bilateral trade, no use of visas for Albanian businessmen, which the Bulgarian side should consider with priority because Bulgarian businessmen are not subject to this restriction by the Albanian side. Mr. Meksi reiterated the need for a joint bank. He also said parliamentary experience and exchanges should also be practiced. Premier Meksi presented to his Bulgarian counterpart the viewpoints of the Albanian Government for the developments in the region, stressing the threat of an inter-Balkan conflict if specialised institutions of the international community do not take measures to depress the Serbian appetite.

Daily Views 'Anti-Bulgarian' Feelings in Macedonia

AU1911172593 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 16 Nov 93 p 8

[Article by Ivo Petrovski: "Macedonia Is Still Anti-Bulgarian, Because It Is Not a Democratic Country As Yet"]

[Text] In order to avoid misunderstandings, overoptimistic expections, or misgivings among the population in both Bulgaria and Macedonia, stands should be clarified.

Any claims for Macedonia's annexation to Bulgaria are unrealistic and dangerous. Bulgaria has recognized the existence of the Republic of Macedonia and given up all territorial claims. The step was by no means easy on account of several hundred thousands of Macedonians living in our country. Nevertheless, the act of recognition was an incentive for Macedonia's release from the Serbian orbit.

Bulgaria is interested in consolidating Macedonia's independence, which requres diplomatic support for the young republic against external pressure and claims. It requires expanding Bulgarian exports to Macedonia, thus compensating for the relations with former Yugoslavia that were severed by the war. Bulgarian markets should be opened for Macedonian goods and efforts, aimed at a subsequent integration through a large-scale development, the linking together of the two countries' infrastructures, and accompanying the integration processes are also required.

Purposeful measures for the establishment of close relations between Macedonia and Bulgaria are much more important than guessing whether two Bulgarian states will exist in the future, and whether Macedonia is likely to be one of them.

The future will answer all open questions, but we should give it a chance. Bulgaria recognized the national identity of the Macedonian population, thus postponing the solution of the question about the Macedonian nation.

The eradication of anti-Bulgarian spirit in the Republic of Macedonia as a prerequisite for the true self-identification of the Macedonian population should become an important objective of Bulgarian foreign policy. In case the Macedonians should not wish to identify themselves as Bulgarian Macedonians, it is utterly important that, in identifying themselves as non-Bulgarian Macedonians, their disposition should be pro-Bulgarian rather than anti-Bulgarian. This is the logical result of our common history and language. Separation prevails in the present epoch, but it is disgraceful to dispute common saints, kings, and national heroes.

The actions of Bulgarian troops during World War II and the subsequent the Tito regime divided us. The construction of socialism in Macedonia, the establishment of the totalitarian state apparatus, and the long time propaganda manipulations of that regime were based on anti-Bulgarian feelings. Political show trials and concentration camps, through which the pro-Serbian upper crust of the Macedonian Communist Party imposed its rule, were also based on accusations of pro-Bulgarian feelings. The special services, trained by the Serbs in anti-Bulgarian spirit still exist and the mass media have not changed. They seem to follow the tradition of being anti-Bulgarian and oppressed. The ruling cadres who built their careers by distancing themselves from everything Bulgarian are the same. The anti-Bulgarian spirit, as a matter of fact, has its own, overall legislative basis, which persists to this day.

The long-time brainwashing exerted a lasting influence upon the Macedonians' consciousness, and it is a delusion to believe that this influence is likely to be promptly and totally overcome. We are hardly capable of resisting the Turkification of the Bulgarian Muslims, let alone changing the Macedonians. After having been told so many times that they are not Bulgarians, they are already feeling a renegade's pride in denying their origins, while the glory of Alexander the Great is nothing but an additional embellishment.

The whole atmosphere in Macedonia is still anti-Bulgarian, because the country is not democratic as yet. However, as much as totalitarianism and anti-Bulgarian feelings are two sides of the same coin, the country's democratization is, by all means, likely to mitigate the anti-Bulgarian moods and to establish real prerequisites for pro-Bulgarian feelings and good will toward Bulgaria. The development of the democratic process in Macedonia does not only conform with European values, but is also in accordance with our own national interests.

The outdated ideas of dividing Macedonia or placing it at the center of a Balkan federation stemmed from the country's multinational population. Its multinational character still exists. Macedonians are slightly over 1.3 million, followed by Albanians who number nearly 450,000. There are nearly 80,000 Turks and approximately 50,000 Serbs in Macedonia. People who identify themselves as Bulgarians are a minority in Macedonia. While we are waiting for democracy to come to Macedonia, they will remain a minority, subject to pressure and deprived of human rights. From the Kresna uprising to this day, the official Bulgarian policy has always been characterized by unpreparedness, passivity, and even indifference toward anti-Bulgarian persecution in Macedonia. We should not neglect the minority that identifies itself as Bulgarian for the sake of naive and futile hopes about the entire Macedonian population declaring itself Bulgarian.

Our national interests, in accordance with the all-European ideals, demand that we should assist Bulgarians in Macedonia to identify themselves as such without fear. Our foreign policy should resolutely and publicly raise the question of the Bulgarian minority's rights in Macedonia, and it should seek international guarantees, as well as the worldwide public support on this issue. Traditional methods and procedures for the protection of minorities exist as we justifiably experienced at the time of the so-called "national rebirth" process.

Let us see how many Macedonians will declare themselves as Bulgarians, and how many they will be tomorrow, when the rights of the Bulgarian minorities in Macedonia shall be guaranteed, after which it is our privilege to decide whether a Macedonian nation exists. Let us hope that the minority will grow to become a majority one day, if the Macedonians in Macedonia should wish so. Sensible Bulgarians should not consider the thesis of a Bulgarian minority in Macedonia as a betrayal of the national cause. After recognizing the Republic of Macedonia, this would be the next logical step toward assessing realities in the Balkans and creating opportunities for a dialogue, for cultural and trade exchange as basic factors for lasting peace.

We should urgently raise the question about the Bulgarian minority in the Republic of Macedonia, as long as the ruling forces in Skopje have not fanned the issue of the so-called "Macedonian minority" in Bulgaria to the point of explosion.

President Havel 'Hesitating' on Libel Law

AU1911103893 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 17 Nov 93 p 2

["rep"-signed report: "President May Return Law Because of Libel Article"]

[Text] Prague—President Vaclav Havel is hesitating whether he should return the Penal Code to parliament because of the article concerning libel against the republic and constitutional officials. Last Friday [12 November], Havel described Article 102, according to which the person who commits the libel can be punished by imprisonment for up to two years, as insurance protecting the democratic system. Yesterday, he said that he discussed this issue with lawyers and as a result he has to think it over before, or even if at all, he signs it.

"The president finds the opinions regarding this stipulation to vary. This means that additional expert analyses must be prepared," Havel's spokesman said.

Justice Minister Jiri Novak believes that Havel will sign the amendment to the Penal Code despite his comments on Article 102. Three independent powers of the democratic state need a legal protection against falsehood and crudeness, the minister said yesterday.

The president also discussed the libel article yesterday with 43 newly-appointed judges.

At the end of September, there were 1,860 judges working in the republic. This year the justice system was reinforced by 209 new judges.

Government, Opposition Criticize Law

AU1911071193 Prague CTK in English 2039 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 18 (CTK)— The Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the Liberal Social Union (LSU), and the communists disagree with the amended Article 102 on Defamation of the Republic of the Penal Law, CTK's survey has revealed.

The Liberal National Social Party proposes to replace the text with a new one.

The stands of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), and the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) are not available at the moment.

All the surveyed parties are represented in the parliament. The ODS, ODA, KDU-CSL and KDS are parties of the government coalition.

The amendment, passed on November 10, preserves the provision making defamation of the republic and its supreme collective bodies, including the government, punishable with sentences to up to two years in prison. It also provides for the protection of the president of the republic.

The ODA said that it was no good for the amended law to provide for punishment of defamation of the republic, the party's spokesman Jan Rejzek told CTK.

He added that the ODA would speak in detail on the amendment at its regular press conference on Friday.

KDS spokesman Frantisek Stanek told CTK that keeping the article in the penal law was absurd. He admitted that a shouting fool can win over many people, but added that eccentric words arose from the still somewhat disquiet situation in society in the wake of the newly won freedom and that they would undoubtedly disappear in the years ahead.

LSNS representatives said they believed that Article 102 of the penal law was easy to be abused and that it really was often abused by the former totalitarian regime.

The way of criticizing the work of a government member or of a deputy cannot be prescribed by the law, but on the other hand the state's constitutional institutions must not be defamed, the LSNS representatives said.

That is why they proposed to replace the present text with another that would allow punishment of defamation of constitutional institutions as a whole.

The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) believes that the law can be abused against the opposition. Deputy Vaclav Frank said he was disappointed at President Vaclav Havel's failure to take an honest and democratic stand on the law.

The LSU said Article 102 of the penal law was at variance with the freedom of expression, provided for punishment of disloyal citizens and did not change anything about the fact that a mere 23 percent of citizens trust parliament.

The LSU said it was convinced that Havel would not sign the law.

Amnesty International Urges Rejection

AU1911090493 Prague CTK in English 1952 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] London, Nov 18 (CTK)—Amnesty International (AI) has today written to Czech President Vaclav Havel, urging him not to sign a new law, adopted by the Czech Parliament on November 10, which would infringe people's right to freedom of expression.

The law states: Whoever defames the Czech Republic, its parliament, government, or Constitutional Court, will be punished by imprisonment of up to two years.

The AI considers that the adopted law would clearly violate the right to freedom of expression set out in Article 19, of the International Covenant on Civil and

Political Rights (ICCPR) and Article 10, of the European Convention on Human Rights, both of which the Czech Republic has ratified and is legally bound to observe.

The AI considers that existing laws in the Czech Republic are quite sufficient to protect legitimate interests of the state such as 'national security, territorial integrity, or public safety...or maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary, for which restrictions may be placed on freedom of expression under Article 10 (2) of the European Convention.

The AI is concerned that the implementation of the new provision of the Criminal Code could result in the prosecution of persons who have exercised their right to the free expression of political and other beliefs without resorting to or advocating the use of violence.

The AI urges Havel to initiate a process for the legislative revision of the law.

If imprisoned, such persons would be considered by the AI as prisoners of conscience, says the AI declaration presented to CTK.

Communists Criticize Havel's NATO Activities

AU1811161193 Prague CTK in English 1321 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 18 (CTK)— President Havel is overstepping his competence in his activity concerning the entrance of the Czech Republic into NATO, Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) Deputy Chairman Vaclav Exner told journalists today.

Entrance into military alliances should be legalized on the basis of the principles of direct democracy, Exner added.

The KSCM firmly rejected the compromise policies of the president and government members concerning NATO, Exner continued. We put the emphasis on ensuring security and cooperation in Europe within the United Nations Organization, he said.

Political developments in Russia continued to disturb the KSCM, and it considered Russian President Boris Yeltsin's correction of the Constitution with his own decrees to be a warning signal, Exner said. He added that Yeltsin's preventing some political forces and personalities from participating in elections was a direct threat to democracy.

The KSCM believes that calls for the creation of an ombudsman position in the Czech Republic should be viewed in the light of Poland's two years of experience with the institution. The KSCM believes that an ombudsman would help to improve legislation, ease the burden on the courts, motivate the government and parliament and help people who were unable to assert their rights.

KSCM deputy Jaroslav Strait voiced the opinion that property was being restituted to people who had compromised themselves by collaborating with the Nazi regime.

Baudys, Aspin Discuss Partnership for Peace

AU1911134993 Prague CTK in English 2203 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Washington, Nov 18 (CTK)—The Czech defense minister and U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin discussed today the U.S. project Partnership for Peace, which deals with future relations between NATO and postcommunist countries.

Baudys told CTK that the Czech Republic considered the project, submitted by Aspin to a NATO defense ministers' meeting in Travemunde, Germany, in October an opportunity to expand official contacts which may bring the states of Central and Eastern Europe closer to NATO.

Baudys also met with Deputy Defense Secretary Frank Wisner and with NATO Commander in Europe General George Joulwan.

Baudys left for a five-day visit to the United States on Tuesday [16 November].

Baudys on Visegrad Group Becoming Alliance

LD2111223893 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Excerpts] There is no use in forming any sort of a political, military, or economic group consisting of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary. The Czech Republic prefers a differentiated attitude by NATO to the countries of central and eastern Europe, as envisaged by the Partnership for Peace project. This was stated today in Prague by Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys on his return from the United States. Our editor Daniela Galikova reports on his news conference.

[Galikova] [Passage omitted] Answering my question with regard to his view of a joint course of action by the Visegrad Group aimed at joining NATO, and what was the view of U.S. officials with whom he held talks on this issue, Minister Baudys said:

[Begin Baudys recording, in Czech] As you well know, the Czech Republic made it clear a long time ago that it is against any attempts to turn the Visegrad Group into some sort of an institution. We say that we want to have very good bilateral relations, to keep them as good as possible, especially with our neighbors. If need be, it is of course possible to meet in order to tackle some topical specific issues. However, we do not have any intention of participating in forming any new institution which would be perceived as the Visegrad Group turned into an institution. It is natural that we have found support for our attitude in the United States.

In general I think that any blanket, non-differentiated approach is the approach which might block the positive progress.

The concept of [word indistinct] really makes it possible for all to start from the same line. Every state has simply to prove that it is trustworthy—that is by its political and economic stability, by its developments.

We simply do not see any reason to create any sort of a group to join NATO together, though individual members have different views on different issues. [end recording]

Dlouhy Urges EC To Adapt to Market Economies

AU1911071693 Prague CTK in English 1404 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 18 (CTK)— The European Community (EC) must also change to adapt to the re-emergence of market economies in eastern Europe, Czech Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said today.

At the opening of a Prague conference on the opening of a Czech-German Trade Chamber, Dlouhy presented the principles and results of the economic policy accompanying the transformation of the former Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic.

He pointed to changes in its foreign trade, including a drop in the share of exports to states of the former Soviet Union from 31 to 8.5 percent, while the share of exports to the EC countries rose from 30.4 percent in 1990 to last year's 52 percent. Estimates for this year hover around 58 percent, he added.

Commenting on discussions about the completion of the reform process, Dlouhy said that there remained several minor problems specific to economies in transformation, including enterprise debt- loads.

Czech economic policy next year will promote an entrepreneurial climate at a microeconomic level, by reducing taxes, increasing domestic demand (through direct spending on roads and the provision of loan guarantees for the development of telecommunications) and expanding the banking sector and capital markets. In addition, it will take steps to increase foreign demand for Czech products and services and will aim to set out clear guidelines for the state's behavior in regard to the remaining national enterprises, Dlouhy explained.

He spoke about the country's admission into the EC, pointing out that it was necessary to admit the existence of sensitive commodities in Eastern Europe which need to be allowed access to the EC market. These included machine tools, fertilizers, steel, textiles, and cement. He also mentioned the need to reduce the bureaucracy involved in EC aid.

Dlouhy emphasized the kind of reforms the EC needed to undergo to accompany the transformation of Eastern Europe, suggesting that EC governments needed to stop listening to certain spoiled groups such as farmers, steelworkers, and airline employees, and abandon disastrous subsidization. These steps were necessary for progress towards European integration, he said in conclusion.

Dlouhy Plans Measures Against Cheap Oil Imports

AU2011062193 Prague CTK in English 1917 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 19 (CTK)— The Minister of Trade and Industry Vladimir Dlouhy said today that he considers it essential to introduce an anti-dumping law or some other defense mechanism against the import of oil products from less-developed countries at dumping prices.

He told a plenary session of the Association of Petroleum Industry and Trade that experts estimate that 320 tonnes of oil products were illegally imported into the Czech Republic from less developed countries in the first eight months of this year.

The products can be used as fuel either for engines or for boilers, Dlouhy said.

The ministry wants to resolve the problem by introducing color-coding for engine and boiler fuels. He announced that Czech refineries will begin a trial coding scheme on January 1, 1994. It hopes to cooperate with Slovakia in tackling the problem and in forming joint legislation which will provide for tough punishment for misuse of oil products.

President Havel Interviewed at Lany

LD2111182593 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Robert Tamychyna at Lany presidential residence, date not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Tamchyna] Mr. President, in the interview you gave to Czech television last Tuesday evening, you spoke about the signing of the penal code amendment, saying that you were hesitating whether you should not send the amendment back to parliament for further consideration because of the so much discussed Paragraph [102] on the defamation of the republic and its constitutional institutions. Let us recall, that according to the existing text of that paragraph, a citizen could be sentenced up to two years of imprisonment for the defamation of the republic. What was behind the shift of your opinion, because the previous Friday when you had returned from Slovenia, you had spoken somewhat differently about that paragraph?

[Havel] In the first place I did not say anything that would have been in variance with anything different that I had said. On the other hand, the truth is that my view

of that paragraph has been developing with the flood of new information, the knowledge of various circumstances, and the reading of various expert opinions. I would like to make a following remark on the subject: Pity the nation that is ruled by politicians who do not listen to the views of others, and who are not capable of modifying their view or listening to the opinion of others and taking it into consideration. My view has, therefore, been developing to a certain extent and it is still developing. Nonetheless, that development is now reaching its climax. I already have a specific solution to the whole matter in my mind, that I will announce to the public and the press in Prague Castle next Tuesday [23 November] at 1030 [0930 GMT]. If you, therefore, are interested in the culmination of the development of my thinking about the matter, do attend.

[Tamchyna] Your meeting with Slovak President Kovac unquestionably constituted the political culmination of last week. One of the issues you discussed was I believe very important. It is said that you talked about a certain degree of decline in relations between both nations in the intellectual and spiritual field.

[Havel] Yes, that discussion was opened by President Kovac who noticed that a certain inconspicuous alienation in the cultural and spiritual sphere, as well as in the general social sphere, has been going on. I agreed very much with his view. I had noticed it myself. This is why we have agreed that at our next meeting we will focus on this subject. Perhaps we will ask the culture and education ministers to these talks, and we will think what kind of institutional steps might be taken to create a scope for a coexistence between our two close societies and cultures. Nonetheless, it is the citizens, artists, and journalists who will have to give it its content. No state institution can do such a thing. It can, however, create favorable conditions for it. [passage omitted]

[Tamchyna] Mr. President, after such discussions news conferences mentioned mostly the pleasant and agreeable aspects of such talks. Did any issue emerge on which there was a more serious misunderstanding?

[Havel] I do not have the impression that there existed items on which I had disagreement with President Kovac, or on which we held radically different views. Nonetheless, we noted that there existed subjects in which there were certain differences in the policies of both states, or in which these policies placed different accents. We also noted that there existed several matters that were ripe to be closed and that have not yet been closed, perhaps because there did not exist such intensive contacts at certain levels between partners as they existed between us, the presidents.

[Tamchyna] Despite this Mr. President, I nonetheless have an impression, although this is my personal view, that some of the items you discussed with President Kovac at [your previous meeting at] Smolenice are being gradually translated into action and are beginning to assume their concrete form.

[Havel] This is happening more slowly than we anticipated but nonetheless, it is happening. As far as the division of the federal assets is concerned, both governments agreed on the relevant so- called grand agreement, and now the only issue is when that agreement is going to be signed, and let us hope that this will happen shortly. This will signify another step in this matter. The matters that we had initialled jointly on the border issue has, on the one hand, begun to be implemented, and on the other hand, as I was informed, there is a hope that it will also be embodied in the relevant legal norms. In essence, what we wanted at that time [at Smolenice] would appear to be being carried out, albeit later than we had wanted but that is how it goes.

[Tamchyna] In our interview today we can hardly avoid mentioning the date of 17 November [1989 when students demonstration in Prague started the events leading to the overthrow of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia]. [passage omitted]

[Havel] Naturally, on that day I gave some thought to the significance of 17 November for our modern history. [passage omitted]

During the 1970's and 1980's, foreign journalists used to come to see me, a dissident, and they repeatedly said that the Charter 77 was a lonely quixotic group, and that society was apathetic, that the regime was conservative and unchangeable. [passage omitted]

I repeatedly told them that this was not so simple. [passage omitted]

Nobody could know when an inconspicuous snowball suddenly turns into an avalanche that radically changes the situation, surprising all those watching it from distance. My assessment of the situation was in fact, confirmed by 17 November. [passage omitted]

[Tamchyna] I would like to ask you this. When you take into account what you have seen in the past four years, what could you say about us, the citizens.

[Havel] [passage omitted] On one side it is clear what we have known from the very beginning, that is, that after decades of communism our society is demoralized. Nowadays we can see this very clearly. [passage omitted] However, this is only a half truth. Its other half is that our society has a great positive potential. I am not sure that this potential is being sufficiently used, whether sufficient space for its development is provided. There are spheres where this is the case—for instance in small, medium, and large entrepreneurship this potential has found a remarkable outlet.

However, this is not the only sphere where it should be used. The other sphere is the sphere of civic life, civic coexistence. [passage omitted]

This is something to what we should perhaps orientate ourselves in the years to come, once we have remarkably created conditions for economic transformation, and for using our human and social potential in the sphere of entrepreneurship. [passage omitted]

Coalition Meets To Discuss Cernak's Statements

AU2011062793 Prague CTK in English 1628 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 19 (CTK)— The statements made by the chairman of the Slovak National Party (SNS) Ludovit Cernak initiated the Thursday coalitions talks, Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic told Slovak Radio today.

Gasparovic (governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS) specified that Cernak had agreed with statements by three SNS representatives denouncing the coalition between the HZDS and SNS, concluded October 19.

Cernak also stressed that by entering the coalition, the SNS had made it clear that it was interested in a change of the government policy.

Gasparovic denied the statement that some HZDS deputies had been among the 76 parliamentarians who had voted the motion of no confidence in Health Minister Viliam Sobona on November 17. He called this absolute nonsense.

Meciar Interviewed on Strains in Coalition

LD1911212393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Regular weekly interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Robert Hanzl; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Hanzl] Parliament dismissed Health Minister Viliam Sobona, and you now have the problem of filling his post. [passage omitted] How do you think the discussion with the Slovak National Party on this will go?

[Meciar] The dismissal of Minister Sobona was not an act of political wisdom but of political hatred. The policy of destruction which has now prevailed in parliament is not limited to the groups which voted for the dismissal of Minister Sobona. For us, his dismissal means several things.

Above all, I want to thank him publicly for his work. He did not lose orientation in a difficult, controversial atmosphere. and he changed the development of the health service in, I hope, the right direction. He was dismissed at the time when he was very close to reaching his objective. In two months, the health service will work in a different way. At the beginning, there are bound to be problems and it will be impossible to implement a new strategy if the man who has to complete the project is dismissed.

To put it simply, the choice of the candidate will therefore be influenced by his ability to complete Sobona's work and to complete it successfully, to the benefit of the health service and the health of the population. Naturally, the candidate will come from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. The selection has already started, and several names have already been put forward. We will have talks with our coalition partner too: this cannot be avoided.

[Hanzl] Prime Minister, let us stay with the National Council of the Slovak Republic. Although voting on the dismissal of the health minister was secret, this was the first time that the Slovak National Party [SNS] showed itself as the coalition partner of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. One sole vote played an important role in the voting. One can presume, almost with certainty, that SNS deputies were among those who voted in favor of the health minister's dismissal. Now that the matter has ended, do you not feel a certain disappointment about the attitude displayed by your coalition partner?

[Meciar] That vote was a serious jolt to us. We concluded the coalition agreement in order to stabilize development in Slovakia and give it a moment of calm, and in order to coordinate policies. For us this is a jolt because a particular agreement was reached between the SNS and HZDS about Minister Sobona. That agreement was broken. This means that the government does not have a guarantee that the coalition with the SNS will function and that the SNS will give the government major support.

Furthermore, it means that we must think seriously about the future of the government and thereby also the stability of the situation in Slovakia. This is because, apart from SNS Deputies, one HZDS deputy also must have voted in favor of minister's dismissal.

Therefore when Mr. Knazko thanked wise forces in the SNS, we have to ask whom are we to thank for breaking written agreements. It was also a major disappointment for me that a number of matters which we signed in the agreement and which were to have been implemented at the current plenary session of the National Council were not implemented.

On the eve of the parliament session, the SNS confirmed the agreement, but it then abrogated it. Only one item was implemented—the HZDS pledged itself to support the election of Ludovit Cernak as deputy speaker of the National Council. In other cases the agreement was broken. This was a serious jolt to us. This is also a serious matter for SNS officials and members who are in favor of a coalition. When we endeavored to find options and guarantees that this would not happen again we did not get them.

This is a matter which is compelling us to think. We are waiting for an answer from the SNS, because for them to be in a coalition with us and at the same time to be against coalition cannot be sustained. One needs to be unequivocal. As I see it, for the second time a certain section of the SNS broke, negated, and disparaged all

agreements the SNS concluded with us, including the man who signed the document with me. This is a serious warning.

[Hanzl] From a poll conducted by the private company Fokus in October this year, we learned among other things that the country is experiencing a certain crisis of confidence in political figures. Only three politicians are enjoying confidence among more than 10 percent of the population: Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar enjoys almost 23 percent confidence, but his coalition partner Ludovit Cernak enjoys the least sympathies—only 24 percent in his own party. Was this also an interesting finding for you?

[Meciar] We have known about these matters. This was known to us when we were having talks about the coalition agreement. This is why I had a very serious conversation in private with Mr. Cernak—alas with no results thus far, judging by the reaction. Above all, one cannot shape a national democratic character and use national democratic terminology and do something different. One cannot accept obligations and adopt conclusions and act in public as a solid partner and at the same time fail to match such commitments in practice. One cannot adopt a position in regard to the HZDS that there is no need to engage in talks but rather to dictate. This is not a situation in which one can reach an agreement.

I see Mr. Cernak as standing at the head of his party, and this I respect. On the other hand, from my knowledge of his development, from when I came to him to persuade him for the first time to enter political life up to the present time, I have to admit many bitter disappointments. [passage omitted]

TV Director Dismissed, New Chief Appointed

AU1911200993 Prague CTK in English 1923 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 19 (CTK)— On the proposal of the Slovak Television Council, the Slovak Parliament dismissed Director General of Slovak Television Peter Malec today. The parliament also took into account the Council's decision to appoint an acting director, Miroslav Majoros.

Malec handed in his resignation two weeks ago. The press has suggested that he did so because the Council, in its new one-color composition, prevented him from working and even removed him the right of signature.

On October 26 the parliament dismissed two council members and appointed seven new members, five of them from the governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and two from its coalition partner Slovak National Party (SNS).

According to the Law on Slovak Television, the Television Council has nine members.

Andrejcak To Seek Russian MiGs as Debt Repayment

LD2211103693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0900 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Slovakia is to ask Russia to supply five Mig-29 aircraft in compensation for its debts to Slovakia, debts which Russia took over from the former Soviet Union. This was stated by Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak before his upcoming visit to the CIS. If he receives the relevant mandate from the government he will also discuss deliveries of spare parts for the aircraft. Everything depends on the Russian side being willing to repay debts in this way. According to Minister Andrejcak, the Slovak armed forces want to increase the number of its aircraft to balance with the number of aircraft held by Hungary in ratio to the population. He has consulted with the Hungarian defense minister on the matter.

Television To Reduce Hungarian Language Programs

LD2011114993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The Slovak Television's program plan for next year reduces the Hungarian language nationality broadcast time—which is three 30-minute programs at present—to two 25-minute programs. Ildiko Nagy reports from Bratislava.

[Nagy] Two leaders of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDN] have protested against the decision. According to them, the program was in a better situation under the communist regime, since Slovak Television had broadcast it in 30 or even 40-minutes slots four times a month. The MKDN considers the program cutback a further [development of the] deprivation of the rights of the Hungarian minority. It has informed Walter (Schrimer), a member of the Council of Europe Political Affairs Committee, who is in Bratislava at the present, and is making a report about the first six months of Slovakia's Council of Europe membership. According to leaked information, the program time taken away from the Hungarian language news magazine will be given to Matica Slovenska. [passage omitted]

Presidential Office Rebuffs Minister's Criticism

AU2011062493 Prague CTK in English 1734 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 19 (CTK)— It is not common in a democratic state that a minister publicly criticize the methods and decisions of the head of state, today's declaration by the Press Office of the Presidential Office on the statements by Transport Minister Roman Hofbauer says.

It is also not common to have critical and unverified comments on the choice of the president's team and his aides, the declaration continues.

Hofbauer told the media that virtually all the team of presidential advisers came from the opposition parties and movements.

The declaration says that President Michal Kovac did not check the political background of his advisers. The president's office includes, however, seven members of the governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), six members of the Slovak National Party (SNS), a recent HZDS coalition partner, and four members of the opposition parties and movements.

The rest of president's aides are not in any party.

Hofbauer should first verify the information and only then consider whether it should be published so that he avoids casting doubt on the Presidential Office and the head of state by means of unobjective information, the declaration states.

Official on Moscow's Impact on NATO Admission

AU2111140293 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Nov 93 p 1

["ro"-signed report: "How To Join NATO"]

[Text] Bratislava—Peter Corterier, North Atlantic Assembly Secretary General, and his deputy Simon Lunn spoke about what they learned during their sojourn in the Slovak Republic at a news conference in Bratislava yesterday.

Peter Corterier emphasized that the visit to the Slovak Republic was motivated by the interest in the Slovak foreign political orientation which, at first, many people did not consider very clear. "The visit assured me," he said, "that the Slovak Government aims at affinity with the Western institutions of the EC or NATO type just as the other countries of the Visegrad Four do." He observed that there will also be on the agenda in Brussels in January an item entitled Partnership for Development. It is expected that NATO will declare its readiness to expand the cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Further, he pointed out that the integration of these states into NATO must correspond to their economic possibilities. The attitude of Russia, for instance, also has to be taken into account so the proceeding would not evoke concerns over the threat which "could lead Moscow to using its right of veto." To the PRAVDA question of whether Russia has the right to do this, Corterier replied that not the legal right. He added that it depends on the emphasis we bestow on what Moscow says. When he spoke about the admission of Slovakia to NATO, he was careful not to indicate any dates. He ruled out, however, any questions of Slovakia being a different case than all the other countries interested in joining the alliance.

Government Appoints Ministry of Finance Official

AU2111173793 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 17 Nov 93 p 1

["jc"-signed report: "Rudolf Autner State Secretary at the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] The government appointed Rudolf Autner to the post of state secretary at the Ministry of Finance yesterday. Rudolf Autner, born on 7 July 1964 in Trnava, has become the youngest member of the government. He completed management studies at the Faculty of Construction at the Slovak College of Technology five years ago. After two years as a research fellow (when he specialized in export financing), he joined the Trnava branch of Slovenska Statna Sporitelna [Slovak State Savings Bank], first as head of the commercial department and, later, as adviser to the director. He speaks English, Spanish, Russian, and Bulgarian.

North Atlantic Assembly Officials Visit

Meet With Chairman of Parliament

AU1911102893 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 18 November (MTI)—Hungary's Chairman of Parliament Gyorgy Szabad met North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) President Loic Bouvard and NAA Secretary-General Peter Corterier, at Parliament on Thursday [18 November]. Bouvard spoke highly of Hungary's activity as an associate member of the North Atlantic Assembly, and said a stable collective European security system was vital.

Bouvard also thought it important to increase Eastern European countries' stability without isolating Russia.

Visit Foreign Affairs Committee

AU1911103093 Budapest MTI in English 1722 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 18 November (MTI)—The North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) will hold its 1995 plenary session in Hungary—the first time that NATO's parliament will meet in a non-member country—it was stated during the Thursday [18 November] visit to Hungarian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee by NAA President Loic Bouvard and NAA Secretary-General Peter Corterier, in Hungary for four days.

Hungarian parliamentary deputies saw no current foreign military threat.

NATO officials stressed that although Moscow's security interests have be taken into consideration, it must not mean Russia gains a new sphere of influence or a right of veto.

At the January NATO summit, the NAA will propose setting terms and timing for Hungary's admission to NATO, Bouvard said.

Talk With Defense Ministry Official

AU1911103693 Budapest MTI in English 1802 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 18 November (MTI)—Political state secretary at Hungary's Defence Ministry Laszlo Szendrei met North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) President Loic Bouvard and NAA Secretary-General Peter Corterier in Budapest on Thursday [18 November], and Defence Ministry Spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Lajos Erdelyi later told reporters that Szendrei had confirmed Hungary's intention to join NATO.

He said Hungary was aware its military technology had to be upgraded so as to match admission criteria.

The NATO officials said they wanted to see Hungary join. They thought Hungary would be one of the next countries to attain some kind of membership in NATO.

Hold Talks With Jeszenszky

AU1911172693 Budapest MTI in English 1339 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 19 November (MTI)—Hungary's Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky held talks with North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) President Loic Bouvard and NAA Secretary General Peter Corterier in Budapest on Friday [19 November].

Jeszenszky asked NAA to continue to help Hungary in its efforts to join NATO and he hoped the January NATO summit would give Hungary a good chance for admission as full member.

Bouvard spoke highly of cooperation between NAA and associate member Hungary, and stressed the organization was ready to promote its steady rapprochement with European integration.

President Meets With Antall

AU2011063693 Budapest MTI in English 1611 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 19 November (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met President Loic Bouvard and Secretary-General Peter Corterier of the North Atlantic Assembly in Budapest today.

The prime minister analyzed in detail the East Central European situation, the latest events in Russia and their probable consequences, the unsettled issues of the south Slav crisis, and relations between Hungary and NATO. He laid special emphasis on the schedule of Hungary joining NATO, and the specification of relevant requirements.

Bouvard expressed his gratitude for the detailed information and agreed with a majority of Antall's statements. He promised that the North Atlantic Assembly would make use of the prime minister's main conclusions in its work.

NATO Ties Discussed

LD1911152893 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] [Announcer] Hungary, of course, is part of the West. Our fate is common. This was stated by North Atlantic Assembly [NAA] President Loic Bouvard at a press breakfast this morning. Jozsef Havel reports.

[Havel] A collective security system which guarantees Hungary's security is needed. However, this should not mean an iron curtain at the borders of the former Soviet Union. Asked about real security guarantees NATO should provide, the politician answered with a question: Can you imagine that the United States, the West would

remain inactive should anyone attack Poland, the Czech Republic, or the Hungarian Republic?

In reply to a remark that the activity of the West in the Yugoslav crisis has not been too brilliant, Loic Bouvard said there had been internal fighting there as opposed to an external attack.

Finally Peter Corterier, NAA secretary general, who also attended the press breakfast, pointed out that it would be desirable if two proposals were adopted at the NATO summit in January. One of them is Partnership for Peace, which would regulate ties between NATO and the former socialist countries on a short term. The other one is an American-Hungarian motion. It proposes that the criteria meeting which would mean NATO membership for us Hungarians and others be defined. To work out these criteria and to meet these conditions will not happen overnight; it will be a process, the secretary general emphasized.

Collective Security Viewed

AU1911201093 Budapest MTI in English 1454 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 19 November (MTI)—The planned new collective security system should cover the whole of Europe and reach overseas, according to NATO's North Atlantic Assembly President Loic Bouvard.

Bouvard told a news conference in Budapest on Friday, "while it is natural for East-Central European states to seek NATO membership, they should also consider that the organization is not the sole guarantor of security."

"The North Atlantic Cooperation Council, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Union, and its defence organization and the Western European Union also play a part in guaranteeing European security," he said.

Bouvard said he understood why East-Central European countries saw NATO as the main guarantee of their security in today's chaotic world, but NATO and the new collective security system should also pay attention to Russia's interests so as to prevent a new iron curtain from emerging in Europe, a few kilometers further east.

Answering questions about the January NATO summit, Bouvard said NATO's internal development would receive most attention.

President Holds Talks With Goncz

AU2011063193 Budapest MTI in English 1659 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 19 November (MTI)—"Hungary, together with the other Central European states, would like to join the European security system and expects the January NATO summit to indicate the road leading there," Hungarian President Arpad Goncz today [19 November] told president of the North Atlantic Assembly [NAA] Loic Bouvard, Presidential Spokesman Andras Farago informed MTI.

The politicians exchanged views on the chances of security policy cooperation within the framework of the "partnership for peace" initiative.

"It is of high importance to us that the West does not treat the issue of cooperation in a way where it is either Eastern Europe or Russia that becomes part of the security system. Rather, they should join together," Goncz said.

Bouvard said that, for geographical, cultural and historical reasons, Hungary formed an integral part of Europe. He added that the NAA would make every possible effort to establish a coherent system of collective security which also comprises Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus.

Jeszenszky Denies Report on Lifting Sanctions

LD2111172893 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] According to a Belgrade newspaper, Geza Jeszenszky has stated that Hungary will be the first to support the lifting of economic sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia. We have phoned Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who resolutely denied the report.

Intelligence Services Chief Resigns

AU1911160993 Paris AFP in English 1555 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 19 (AFP)—Poland's intelligence services chief Jerzy Konieczny has resigned discreetly but no official comment will be forthcoming for the moment, his press office spokesman Sylwester Garnet said Friday. The Interior Ministry likewise refused to give any details.

Press reports said the spy chief had fallen out with President Lech Walesa, who was said to be dissatisfied with Konieczny's work.

The Polish constitution gives the president reserve powers over the interior ministry, which is responsible for the office of protection of the state, as the intelligence service is formally termed.

The resignation Monday still has to be approved or rejected by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, after consultation with Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski.

Foreign Minister Views Main Priorities

WS1811150393 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Nov 93 p 21

[Report by Ryszard Malik: "Andrzej Olechowski's Three Guiding Principles—Consensus, Specifics, Economy"]

[Text] **"I refuse to comment on Russia's new military doctrine, because I do not want to base what I say only on the version known from newspapers. I think I am going to spend the $15 out of my own pocket to purchase the doctrine's text, since the Foreign Ministry has not done it heretofore"—this is the way Andrzej Olechowski jokingly replied to a question asked during the first press conference for journalists after taking up the post of foreign affairs minister.**

"While being in charge of the Polish policy, I will be basing it on three fundamentals: consensus, specifics, and the economy," declared Minister Olechowski. "As far as the consensus part is concerned, it will apply to measures taken inside the country—I will strive for an understanding of, and support for, the foreign policy conducted by me, both on the part of the governing coalition's members, in the parliament and outside of it, and on the part of the president and the prime minister. Trying to achieve specifics means to me"—the minister continued—"transforming into facts all the declarations, agreements, and treaties with Western countries, with regard to our security and integration with the European Union [EU]. The issue is about specific preconditions applied when accepting new members in the EU; it also applies to membership in NATO. Undoubtedly, the meeting in Warsaw with the French and German foreign ministers was helpful in that respect. As regards the economy part, it will be present on all levels and in all directions of our foreign policy," Olechowski said. "We must open ourselves up to new markets, and look for new partners. This applies first of all to the markets beyond our eastern border."

Speaking on the topic of Polish Eastern policy, the minister stressed very good high-level contacts between the leaders of Russia and Poland, but he also said that what is lacking is a transformation of these positive relationships into routine, everyday life, or into economic specifics. "We want to be a bridge between West and East, and we should finally broaden the extent of our mutual cooperation," Olechowski said. "We do not want to convey the impression that our possible joining NATO could endanger the good relationship with Moscow. I want to stress," the minister said, "that for Poland, its permanent security is inconceivable without full participation by Russia and our other Eastern neighbors in all-European security systems. We are located where we are, and we are going to flee neither from the region, nor from our neighbors," Mr. Olechowski added. "Poland would be irrational in its actions, if it did not take Russia's fears into consideration."

As regards the omission by Prime Minister Pawlak of relations with the United States in his Sejm address, it was—according to the foreign minister—an unintentional oversight created as a result of repeated corrections to the text of the prime minister's speech, and as a result of a reduction of the text's final length. "I think, however, that no harm was done. Our relations with the United States are good and dynamic. Recently, Deputy Secretary of State Stephen Oxman paid a visit to Warsaw. We had a long and good conversation."

"So far, I do not have a timeframe for meetings with my colleagues from other countries, but I would certainly like to meet [U.S. Secretary of State] Warren Christopher and [Russian Foreign Minister] Andrey Kozyrev before the December CSCE meeting in Rome and the January NATO summit in Brussels. Which one of them I will succeed in meeting first and when—I just do not know. After all, both gentlemen are very busy people."

Walesa: Full Integration 'Question of Time'

LD1911172293 Warsaw PAP in English 1417 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19—"Full integration is a question of time. We have cultural links with the West and gravitate towards it economically. We expect to be treated like partners," President Lech Walesa has written in a letter to participants in the Warsaw world economic forum, the presidential press office announced on Friday.

"I think that being seasoned experts on the conditions of economic development, you will appreciate the importance of Poles' expanded activity and enterprise as well as a growing role of private sector, in which half of Poland's workforce is employed," president wrote.

He added that Poland's geographical position is its advantage, claiming that the continent's central region has to and will be economically energetic, because otherwise, Europe's future development will be shaken.

Committee for Defense, Security Matters Proposed

LD1911210493 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] The new leadership of the Ministry of National Defense has presented a proposal to create a committee for dealing with defense matters within the Council of Ministers Office, which would be headed by the prime minister. This information was conveyed during the congress of delegates from the Union of Former Professional Soldiers by Jerzy Milewski, first deputy to the Minister of National Defense and head of the National Security Office.

He said that the changes announced in the Ministry of National Defense, which were mentioned during the 17 November news conference by the new leadership, were aimed at integrating operations to improve defense capabilities and the security of the country—operations which had until now been scattered and belonged either to the remit of the president or to that of the Council of Ministers' Office.

According to Milewski, the committee for dealing with defense matters would take total care of all matters of defense and of state security. It would be like the Economic and Social Committees at the Council of Ministers.

Podkanski Urges More Trade with Former USSR

LD2011163193 Warsaw PAP in English 1339 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Krynica, 20th November—The 15 states which came into being after (the collapse of) the former USSR are a real chance for Polish firms to do good business - such was the assessment today of the Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation Leslaw Podkanski during the meeting of the Economic Forum Poland-East held in Krynica. He stressed that cooperation between Poland and Russia, Ukraine and Belorusia would be treated as a priority.

At present trade turnover between Poland and Russia constitutes about 65 per cent of our overall trade with the countries of the former USSR. Belorussia and Ukraine account for ten per cent of the turnover. Together then that makes our turnover with these three countries 85 per cent - about 3,100,000,000 dollars.

The Minister announced that the Ministry for Foreign Economic cooperation would in 1994 propose a solution which would give support to investment exports to eastern markets - in particular complete projects and industrial installations.

Arms Production Cooperation Talks With Israelis

LD2011164893 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1548 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov—Major Mariusz Jedrzejko confirmed reports on 20 November that Polish and Israeli arms factories are holding talks about potential future cooperation in the field of arms manufacture. However, Jedrzejko denied reports that the Polish General Staff is holding talks about the future manufacture of a Polish-Israeli tank. He added that potential future cooperation in the arms field will be decided upon by the two countries' arms factories.

Maj. Jedrzejko is an officer of the Polish General Staff.

Walesa Complains of European Treatment of Poland

LD2111173493 Warsaw PAP in English 1721 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Berlin, Nov. 21—Polish President Lech Walesa has said that Western Europe does not treat Poland "in a partner-like way." In an interview for the Monday issue of the national DIE WELT paper Walesa declared that Poland would resist this West-European nationalism.

The president added that Poland wants to join economic and political systems of Western Europe. He stated that he has always demanded and he would continue to demand that Western Europe should treat Poland like a partner. "We do not want pity or alms, we just want to be treated like partners," Walesa stressed in an interview.

Zoll Elected Chairman of Constitutional Tribunal

LD1911120393 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0918 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Nov—On Friday, Andrzej Zoll was elected by the Sejm as chairman of the Constitutional Tribunal. He is a judge of this court, the chairman of the State Electoral Commission, and a specialist in penal law.

Finance Minister Denies Tax Rises Disincentive

LD1911125493 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0931 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 19 Nov—In the view of Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Marek Borowski, the increase in tax thresholds will not slow down the development of enterprises. "The increase is a modest one; we are simultaneously preparing a wider package of investment incentives," Borowski said on Friday morning during a meeting with the leadership of the National Economic Chamber [KIG].

Rather than an increase, the KIG would prefer to see strong economic self-management that would reduce the extent of the "grey sphere". "We oppose every increase

in taxation. We will construct a strong economic self-management, that will discipline entrepreneurs better than a tax police," Chairman of the Chamber Andrzej Arendarski stated.

In the course of the meeting between Deputy Prime Minister Borowski and the KIG leadership, the issue of the consultation over the most important draft economic legislation, support for small businesses, and also economic information issues were discussed, the Government Press Office reports. [passage omitted]

Solidarity Network Ready To Cooperate With BBWR

LD1911200293 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1608 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Gdansk, 19 Nov—The NSZZ Solidarity National Agreement of Enterprise Commissions [known as Siec—the Network] has today voiced its readiness to cooperate with the Parliamentary Floor Group of the Non-Party Bloc for Support of Reforms [BBWR]. At a meeting in the Gdansk Shipyard Ltd., "Siec" representatives also called on the union's national commission to "act decisively to counter the price rises of fuels and energy carriers planned by the government—up to and including declaring a general strike."

In an agreed stand, "Siec" explained its desire to cooperate with the BBWR parliamentary floor group by speaking of the need to make use of "all possible means" to defend workers' rights and to implement this through parliamentary means.

Those attending the meeting accused the Solidarity National Commission of being a "bureaucratic structure" and blamed it for the Union's electoral defeat. During the discussion, it was also decided that in the elections "there was an unnecessary split of votes caused by the National Commission not wanting to be our representative." "Siec" leader Jerzy Borowczak from the Gdansk shipyard told a PAP journalist that "the Union is being managed in a centralized way and that the 'top' does not understand the 'bottom'."

Police Find Stolen Uranium in Market

AU1911184493 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 15 No 93 p 1

[Petre Nicolae note: "Uranium in Obor Market"]

[Text] Policemen from the Anti-Organized Crime Brigade surprised Alexei Panuta, a citizen from the Republic of Moldova, offering uranium 235 pills for sale in an open market. After due investigation of the matter, the police found that the pills were stolen from his place of work by Ion Dobre, technical operator at the Nuclear Energy Reactors Institute of Pitesti. Helped by another 10 colleagues, he managed to take out 27 pills of uranium, which is used as fuel in nuclear stations.

The deed is all the more serious as the police has confiscated 234.42 kg of such pills from various citizens in the past two years. If they are not handled properly, the pills can be very dangerous, both for their holders and for the region where they are kept. The great majority of the other pills discovered so far—the same as the latest batch of 27 discovered on Ion Dobre—came from the same Pitesti Institute. Other scores of kilograms of pills were stolen from a Brasov plant. Here, the police found 208 kg of uranium pills stashed away to be taken out of the factory in a garbage container. Important quantities of nuclear fuel of Romanian origin were sold in open markets in Budapest. As a matter of fact, three people were arrested in Hungary for possession of 26 pills from the Pitesti Institute. Eugen Postolache, aged 36 from Pitesti, was caught in possession of 1,847 kg of pills; Ilie Tatulescu, also from Pitesi, stole some 5 kg of uranium pills. At a certain point, a Syrian student from Cluj and a university professor from the same locality joined the ring and helped with the sale of several pills stolen from Pitesti, at 3,000 German marks per pill. Constantin Nicolae and Neculai Constantinescu, both from Pitesti, were also caught in Ramnicu Valcea offering 28 uranium pills for sale for the sum of 40 million lei.

Considering how much uranium was thrown on the market, instead of the occasional grenade being offered for sale in the Matache or Obor markets, we will shortly find nuclear bombs on sale.

'Sources' Say SRI Head To Meet KGB Officials

AU2211122993 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 19 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Dan Andronic: "SRI Director Virgil Magureanu Is Paying a One-Week Visit to the KGB"]

[Text] On Wednesday morning [17 November], SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] Director Virgil Magureanu left for Moscow. According to authorized sources, Magureanu will meet with KGB officials and other Russian intelligence services during his visit. The SRI director is to return home on Monday [22 November].

Cabinet Discusses IMF Talks, Economic Measures

AU2011061893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1837 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/11/1993—In opening the meeting of the executive on November 29, state ministers Mircea Cosea and Florin Georgescu presented a brief account on the last round of negotiations with the IMF. The two ministers said the letter of intention was sure to be signed around December 10, the most urgent problem to be solved being the time, which entailed the relation with the Parliament. They asked that as soon as the IMF documents are adopted the Parliament debate them and urgently endorse a package of strictly necessary laws for the implementation of the correlated measures of financial-banking policy, restructuring and privatization covenanted during the negotiations.

The observance of the schedule agreed with the IMF, the speeding up of the state property fund activity, the seeking out of a more efficient form of collaboration among all bodies directly involved in restructuring and privatization will be given priority. The prime minister cautioned that the whole system of measures required stronger discipline.

The commerce minister informed on the process of privatization in his domain. The conclusion was drawn that although commerce was one of the domains in which privatization could progress fast, there were numerous barriers that had to be reconsidered, including parallelisms of bodies involved in privatization. Premier Vacaroiu assessed that a general analysis was necessary of the bodies that implemented this process and their channeling toward a single, simple and efficient way of action so as to complete the action inside one year.

Changes were then proposed in the list of de luxe products on which excise taxes are levied. The measure is part of the urgent fiscal regulations agreed with the IMF pursuing a balancing of the foreign payments. The proposals advanced by the government pursue the adjustment of the taxes on products already on the de luxe list—expensive drinks and cigarettes—as well as the introduction of more products, including cars and motorcycles, hunting arms, electronic and electric appliances, perfumery and cosmetics.

The executive endorsed today a package of proposals advanced by the minister of finance, Florin Georgescu, referring to the decentralization of financing some expenditures on pre-university teaching currently paid out of the state budget: material expenditures and services, except for school books and note books. The prime minister ordered a rigorous analysis in connection with the shortage of school books for the printing of which the necessary funds had been earmarked and demanded the culprits to be punished.

According to a decision endorsed today, the merit scholarship for Romanian students and the scholarship for the

students from the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine and for foreign citizens will be 33,800 lei a month and the scholarship for post-graduate education and doctorands from the two republics and foreign citizens will be 36,500 lei.

The government decided the earmarking from the budget reserve of 220 million lei for the live casting on TV of the winter Olympic games and of the 1994 world soccer championship.

The day of December 1 was declared a non-work day.

In turn, Mihai Ungheanu, secretary of state with the Ministry of Culture, referred to the necessity to protect the cultural national heritage saying that in connection with the press campaign regarding Brancusi's statue "Mademoiselle Pogany" the Ministry of Culture would take the necessary demarches for the statue to remain in the country.

WEU's Smith Praises Observance of FRY Embargo

AU2011174993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1310 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/11/1993—Romania's President Ion Iliescu received Friday [19 November] evening Sir Dudley Smith, chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the West European Union [WEU].

Present were Senators Vasile Vacaru and Constantin Sava, as well as presidential aides Traian Chebeleu, Paul Dobrescu, and Cornel Codita.

After the meeting the guest made the following statement to the press:

"I do not have any hesitation in supporting the idea of more than a formal tie between the WEU and Romania or other central and East European countries. Romania has gained international recognition for its key role played in the observance of the UN embargo [imposed on Yugoslavia] on the Danube, an action that says more than words do." Moreover, the guest showed that a decision regarding the granting of the WEU associate member status to the countries presently holding the status of observers could probably be decided at the 2 December 1993 meeting of the WEU.

Referring to his visit to Romania, Sir Dudley Smith mentioned that the main conclusion drawn from the interviews held with President Ion Iliescu, with the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Teodor Melescanu, with the speakers of the two chambers of parliament, and with representatives of the defense and foreign policy committees within the law-making body was that those Romanian circles wish to involve the country in European security structures and ensure stability on the continent.

As for the observance of the embargo on the Danube by Romania, the WEU assembly chairman considered that it had operated perfectly, as a high-precision clock. Answering questions, he also mentioned that the WEU was aware of the considerable economic sacrifices made by the former communist countries that currently support the application of the embargo, and showed his approval of the support that should be granted to them by the developed states.

PDAR Leader Views Alliance With PUNR

AU1911212293 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 11 Nov 93 p 5

[Interview with Victor Surdu, president of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania, by Peter Sragher; place and date not given: "The National Conference Can Turn Into an Extraordinary Congress"]

[Text] [Sragher] The PDAR [Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania] is declaring itself a center-oriented party ready to set up the National Unity Bloc [BUN]. What are the chances of this initiative being adopted at the National Conference?

[Surdu] The National Unity Block is open to all the parliamentary parties and not only the PDAR. The chances of this initiative being adopted at the National Conference depend on two things: Whether the leadership has really agreed on it and whether the idea is also accepted by the majority of county branches that represent the party.

[Sragher] Can we assume that you do not have any particular party in view for this initiative?

[Surdu] We are thinking about the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor], the PNL [National Liberal Party], and the MER [Romanian Ecologist Movement] and, why not, even the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania].

[Sragher] Do you have a prepared document of alliance with the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] that you can submit to the conference?

[Surdu] Yes, I do.

[Sragher] Do you believe that an alliance with the PUNR at this particular moment, when Caritas [nation-wide Ponzi scheme, money-multiplying system] is being contested will bring you political advantage?

[Surdu] Caritas is a game. The alliance represents a political act of national dimensions. Nevertheless, I have already affirmed, and we reiterate it again, that one cannot sign a protocol of alliance with the PUNR before a communique of the PUNR Executive Committee is issued that states that there is no connection whatsoever between the PUNR and the Caritas, no matter what type of connections. The appearances of Mr. Funar [Cluj mayor] together the Caritas are considered by the PUNR leaders as personal activities, and, as far as Caritas is concerned, this is a game with which we have no connections and which so far has not been proved to be a swindle.

[Sragher] Can you deny rumors about the fact that the PUNR is primarily interested in grabbing the well-structured PDAR headquarters and organizations?

[Surdu] We can deny such rumors, because the PDAR, through this alliance, will not lose its political identity and our organizations are strong. The party is developing, proof of it is in the county conferences, which have just concluded, as well as, I hope, the national conference that will open tomorrow.

[Stragher] Does the PDAR hope that, through this pact, it will first of all massively penetrate Transylvania, the well-known fiefs of the PUNR?

[Surdu] The PDAR is very well represented in Transylvania, except for the counties of Cluj and Mures, where we have achieved poorer results than the PUNR. The rest of Transylvania has many PDAR members. We do not refer to the parliamentary election of 1992, which was an accident.

[Sragher] We have information that you are the third as far as demoted mayors are concerned. How can you explain this situation?

[Surdu] First of all, the PDAR has many elected mayors. Secondly, a number of prefect's offices were hastily compiling files that, in most cases, did not contain justified motivations regarding Agrarian Party mayors, who did not accept the idea of joining the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania]. We must note that, on the other hand, in March-July 1993, we won 25 mayoralities in local elections.

[Sragher] How realistic can the intention of the PDSR to organize early, country-wide local elections be?

[Surdu] In case of legislative elections, this is a feasible idea, but country-wide local elections cannot be organized except when the elected bodies are removed as a result of illegal measures that they have taken. And even then, only when the respective measures are awfully dangerous. In our view, there is no legitimate motivation for such an initiative.

[Sragher] Do you intend to give special importance to the National Conference?

[Surdu] The county conferences proved that it is necessary to improve the party statute and its political program, and this cannot be done in a honorable party that respects its own decisions except in a congress. After consulting the county branches, we realized that the members elected by the county conferences for the executive bureaus of the branches are ready to make the effort to participate in the national conference. Given the representation level, the national conference might certainly turn into an extraordinary congress.

[Sragher] Are there rumors to the effect that you might be contested at the national conference or congress ....

[Surdu] I think it is normal that a person or a group might be contested. I have only one merit, namely to be the founder of this party and to fulfill my duties in my position as president of the party by implementing the decisions of the party and of the executive. I am sure that I will have also a second merit, to be the last one who withdraws from this young, natural, and respectable party, which has been set up for a cause and not by accident. As far as positions within the party are concerned, they are not taken by anybody, they are granted. And this is also a great responsibility for those who give them, as well as for those who receive them.

[Sragher] Are you also preparing a special event?

[Surdu] We are preparing the establishment of the Peasant Bank "Albina" [The Bee], a popular bank, primarily open to agricultural workers who own land in association with others or on their own, then to agricultural commercial companies, and to other people as well. It will be open to all those who wish to make deposits and benefit from capital for the revitalization of the Romanian rural economy. The bank will have mixed Romanian and foreign capital.

PAC Leader Views Possible Coalition Government

AU1911093093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1656 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/11/1993—The chairman of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], Nicolae Manolescu said at a press conference on Thursday that "a coalition joining all those seeking reform is possible" if President Ion Iliescu was ready to find new allies.

The PAC leader said that, irrespective of the possible interpretations of a presumed government of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] together with the Democratic Party—National Salvation Front [PD-FSN], or even with the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] that is currently holding the power, "it is more important to join our forces because the act of assuming responsibilities cannot be postponed indefinitely."

The opposition parties stated recently that they were "ready to do their duty to the country," and that "a new government will be able to bring back the hope which can come true and instate social peace and stability."

Government, Unions Conclude First Round of Talks

AU2011200093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Today's meeting at Victoria Palace [government headquarters] of Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, State Ministers Dan Mircea Popescu [minister of labor] and Florin Georgescu [minister of finance], and the secretary general of the government, Viorel Hrebenciuc, [as government representatives] and the leaders of the CNSLR [National Confederation of Romania's Free Trade

Unions]-Fratia trade union confederation has concluded after talks that lasted for six and a half hours, our correspondents report.

After the conclusion of the talks Octavian Partenie, the government's special representative for relations with trade unions and employers, as well as Victor Ciorbea, the chairman of CNSLR- Fratia, made statements to our reporters.

Ciorbea assessed that today's meeting was a round of preliminary negotiations during which all claims of CNSLR-Fratia were tackled. Ciorbea then reviewed the issues upon which they agreed during today's meeting, as follows: On Monday [22 November] at 0900 [0700 GMT] the representatives of CNSLR-Fratia will meet with State Minister [and chairman of Romania's Council for Economic Coordination, Strategy, and Reform] Mircea Cosea, with the purpose of including the trade union confederation within the Reform Council. On Thursday [25 November] they will meet again with Cosea, but that meeting will also be attended by Emil Dima, the chairman of the State Property Fund, who will present the government's program related to next year's privatization.

On Monday union representatives will meet with the members of the National Statistical Board who will present a realistic prognosis regarding the price hikes expected in the future so that a new indexation rate and a new lower limit of the minimum wages to be paid throughout national economy can be established.

On Thursday other such meetings will be held with representatives of the unions of persons employed in education, health, and culture.

The parties also agreed that within a few days the government will alter the draft bill on unemployment, so that the funds earmarked for unemployment allowances should be administered by all three parties [government, unions, and employers].

The government will also elaborate a draft bill establishing the principles of the administration of funds earmarked for the retraining of the labor force.

In the conclusion of his statement Ciorbea emphasized the fact the labor conflict that started at the 18 November rally [in Bucharest] cannot be considered as solved before today's agreements are put into practice.

Government representative and State Secretary Octavian Partenie stated that during today's first round of talks the parties worked out mutually acceptable positions for the solution of the claims. Partenie highlighted three major aspects, namely the fact that they agreed that the organizational framework of the cooperation between CNSLR-Fratia and the organizations dealing with reform issues ought to be worked out; various ministries—and not just the government's office for relations with trade unions and employers—are to be directly involved in seeking the solutions to the problems that need to be solved next week; and, finally, they agreed that the trade unions should directly participate in the elaboration of certain draft bills related to the implementation of [economic] reform.

In the conclusion of his statement Partenie assessed that a permanent exchange of views would be beneficial for both parties.

Izetbegovic Discusses Continued Fighting

LD2011003693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic by unidentified Sarajevo radio-television correspondent in Sarajevo; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President: What are your impressions from your visits [to the Muslim-held territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina]?

[Izetbegovic] The basic impression from this rather long trip was that the free territory is much bigger than we sometimes think. One should visit it the way I did and see for oneself that this territory is long and wide.

Furthermore, my impressions were both positive and negative. Of course, the positive ones prevailed. I have had encounters with the army, and I can assure you and the people that this has become a real army, and that is also evident here in Sarajevo.

The last time I visited the free territories was in January. After that it was impossible to travel there because the approaches from the west, via Split, had been cut off. I reached our territories accompanied by my soldiers, our soldiers—not accompanied by the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. I wish to stress this. How I managed to leave Sarajevo must of course remain a secret.

Everywhere I traveled, I found the morale of our troops and the population to be very high. This optimism, I must confess, worried me a little. One must not be too optimistic or too euphoric when making decisions; one should keep a cool head. Nevertheless, I must admit that I was pleasantly surprised by the morale of the army and the people.

For instance, up north I visited the front line, near Gradacac, Brcko, Ceric, near Srebrenik. Everywhere I went I heard people say that we should not give in, that we can make it. This is the impression I gained from my encounters with the people, and especially with the soldiers. The army has uniforms, it is quite well armed—of course, these are mostly light weapons—and Bosnia has not been crushed, as some tend to think. The industry has mostly been preserved. The worst cases are where plants are operating at half capacity.

[Words indistinct] the possibility to defend ourselves. It remains to be explained why and how this had happened, but I will repeat here what I have said before—if the embargo had not been imposed, we would have won. Bosnia-Herzegovina would have emerged as the victor in this war. They all know this, both here and there—by here, I mean the Balkans; by there, I mean Europe—but this did not suit them.

We have managed somehow. We knew that our people were a good people. When the fighting started, we found out that they were a courageous people as well. But what I have seen proves that they are also a clever people. They have succeeded in creating something from practically nothing. Look at what this blockade has done.

When I say a good people, I mean a people that does not respond to the destruction of mosques with the destruction of churches; it does not respond to genocide with genocide. It is displaying quite a degree of patience and humanity. We have always known this about our people, but we did not know that they were so courageous until the outbreak of this war.

[Correspondent] Your visit to the tower of Gradacac, to the tower of the Dragon of Bosnia, was quite symbolic. What is the situation on our northern front, which has been repelling the assaults of this formidable war machine for 20 months now?

[Izetbegovic] Yes, the main thrust was concentrated up there, on Brcko, and, of course, on Gradacac—yes, Gradacac, because the soldiers always considered Gradacac to be a kind of a gateway to Bosnia, a strategic gateway to Bosnia. The enemy struck there with all his might. There were several major clashes there that one cannot describe in a short time. There was a major tank battle that went on for 12 days between 13 and 25 November last year when we managed to destroy 60 or 70 tanks, at least that is what the military reports said. Even if we assume it was half that number, that is still something. This was followed by a fresh wave of attacks, but the defense lines remained unchanged.

I did not hear anybody even dreaming of mentioning that Gradacac could fall into enemy hands. Gradacac cannot fall, just as (Celic) cannot be taken. This was where I found a newly-founded municipality and newly-organized military units. They were very well trained, disciplined, and clothed, I must say.

You know that the main enemy spearhead was directed against Brcko, where the corridor widens. We were ferociously attacked there in July, and we had to withdraw from that famous [word indistinct], but the extent of the pullout was minimal compared to the cost of the attack. Therefore, this is one of our glorious fronts and we have to be proud of both the people there and of the army.

There is another positive impression I can pinpoint here. They have not managed to exterminate or disperse us as we once feared. I have seen many people milling about everywhere, groups of children returning from school, and this prodded me into asking myself how many of us there are. I simply had the impression that they succeeded in dispersing us, but they did not, and this is something the people should know. They should derive strength from this fact, strength for what is awaiting us—a harsh winter, maybe more fighting. We will try to avoid this if we can attain our objectives by peaceful means, political means. However, it could easily happen that this is not possible and that we have to brace ourselves for some fresh military efforts.

Our people have mostly remained united. I have requested data for the Tuzla and Zenica districts, just those two districts.

We should add to this around 450,000 people from the Sarajevo district, then Krajina [in western Bosnia] with between 250,000 and 280,000 people. This is without the people in Herzegovina, Gorazde, and Travnik, where 110,000 people live. When we add up all this, it turns out that their efforts have been in vain. They have not managed to destroy this nation, and they will not manage to do it.

The negative impressions or unfavorable conditions that constantly preoccupied me from one town to another involved hunger—the problem of food. The problem of food has become a priority issue, almost a strategic issue. I am afraid that starvation could be more dangerous than chetniks and ustashas. That is one thing that preoccupied me the entire time. People are not demoralized, however, although they are facing the problem and are very familiar with the situation. Both local leaders and the people in general know the state of affairs.

There is a conference today, a meeting in Geneva. [Words indistinct] I was invited to go, but because of my 12-day tour, it was simply impossible to go on another trip. [Words indistinct] and I had a lot of obligations here, precisely in connection with my stay in the free territories.

[Bosnian Prime Minister Haris] Silajdzic went to Geneva—our delegation is headed by Silajdzic—and his task is to do everything possible and necessary to break the blockade of humanitarian action and find a way to bring in the food. Our stance is that it is all the same to us whether food is imported from the direction of Serbia or Croatia. We agree with a corridor from Bar [in Montenegro] to Sarajevo and, of course, all food which might arrive from Macedonia, which we are now awaiting with concern to see whether it comes through. The convoy yesterday left [word indistinct]. It is a commercial convoy from Skopje in Macedonia.

Briefly, this remains an issue which we have to cope with. We will have solved our problem if we solve the problem of hunger. I hope (?we will solve it).

[Correspondent] You visited Vares immediately after it was liberated and made an appeal, received well by the international and domestic public, calling on the Croats who left to return to Vares.

[Izetbegovic] Yes, that appeal is still valid even though it is difficult to contact the people concerned. You know that we sent a delegation which was stopped up there at Kobiljaca [Serbian checkpoint near Sarajevo]. I am sorry that the delegation could not pass. It consisted of Provincial Andjelovic and Monsignor Puljic, and we thought they could reach the Croat refugees to tell them what to do. These people were torn between Croatian Defense Council [HVO] soldiers who were telling them that they should not return to Vares, and us telling them that they should return [words indistinct].

Boban has a plan to create a Croatian state down there [in Herceg-Bosna] where he wants to gather all Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats. I read his documents saying that 700,000 Croats were dispersed from Neum in the south to the Sava river [in the north], that 5,000 of them lived here, 10,000 there and so on. Boban decided to create a compact entity because this dispersion of people does not suit him. It suits us, because this is Bosnia; it is one of the qualities of Bosnia. We will do everything we can to keep the Croats here, and we are calling on them to stay here.

To be honest, I was asked: Mr. President, why should we let the Croats return? The man who asked me this was a refugee from Herzegovina, and he asked why we should bring them back when they drove us away. I told him that, above all, that was not our method. The most stupid thing that we could do would be to say: Well, if Boban is doing that down there, we should do the same here. We do not need Boban's methods because we are a state and they are a parastate. We have an army, they have a paramilitary force or gangs. I feel free to say that they are a gang after what they did in Stolac and in Mostar where they even destroyed the old bridge [words indistinct].

On the other hand, there is a more practical question. I asked the man from Herzegovina, from the Mostar area: Do you want the people to return there [words indistinct]. Boban's project was divided in two stages; in the first stage, he wanted to cleanse the Muslims from Stolac, Capljina, Ljubuski, Livno, and Mostar, and in the second stage he wanted to push the Croat from the north, from [central] Bosnia, like cattle into Bobanistan [Herceg-Bosna], as our people call it jokingly.

If we do not want this plan to be realized, we have to convince our fellow Croat citizens that they should stay in their homes. We should not help Boban by driving the Croats out of Vares [words indistinct]. Our state of Bosnia-Herzegovina must be a law-governed state. It must not expel its citizens, and it does not do so. We should keep in mind that HVO soldiers used bullhorns in Vares to call on the people to pack quickly and leave their homes because the rampaging Bosnian army was approaching the town.

The people, of course, do not know what to do. They are completely confused about what is going on, and they cannot take risks. This is how the Croat citizens from Vares got on the move. We must counter that policy by providing safety for Croats and helping them to stay here. I am convinced that they can stay.

When I was in Vares, I asked them how many Croats were there, and was told between 700 and 800. No one harms them. Fra Mijo [Catholic priest and a Croat] and a Muslim clergyman visited me in Vares. I think your cameras recorded that meeting. I asked him about the

situation there. He said the people have fled to mountains and villages above Vares and that they cannot not establish contact with them. Of course, these people now ask in disbelief whether they can return, (?whether there is any risk in returning). That is the problem.

In any event, our policy must remain that we cannot be those who persecute people.

I would like to make a little digression here, because I have just remembered something. You see how history repeats itself in a strange way. We have here in Bosnia a situation similar to that in World War II. I remember the war very well. I was 16 when it started and 20 when it finished. I remember it well. I remember some things better than what happened last year.

There were chetniks and ustashas around then. Now they have appeared on the scene again, chetniks and ustashas, worse than those in World War II. I can say this for certain. The ustashas then did not destroy the bridge [in Mostar] or mosques. The question arises of who the third side is. The third side then were the partisans.

There is a third side now too. This people's army, the Bosnian Army, which does not have the same ideological stance, but which should remain like that side [the partisans]. We are not people who think that history begins with us. The history of Bosnia began over 1,000 years ago. We should learn everything good from the last war.

I remember this because I traveled around Bosnia then too. I was in Gradacac in late 1944, because my brother was there. When chetniks and ustashas came, people fled because those were the armies which killed citizens; but when the partisans came, people did not flee. They knew nothing about communism, nor did they care about it. There was not much talk about it until 1945, 1946 when they (?came to power).

They spoke about a war of liberation, and they had the reputation of being an army which does not kill civilians. They were harsh, and sometimes even cruel with the enemy, very severe, but the fact is that they left women and children alone. That is why they won. We should keep that in mind and draw a conclusion: We will win if we have the reputation of being an army which does not kill women and children. If that is not the case, everything will turn into a bloody merry-go-round: three armies which persecute one another and persecute citizens, which are all the same, which destroy places of worship and cultural monuments.

We must be different and be the ones who do not do that. Thus we will win despite everything; despite the embargo; despite Europe's obstruction; despite UNPROFOR's sometimes inexplicable behavior and its occasional bias—although on the whole UNPROFOR is doing a positive job.

Despite all this, if the people believe... [pauses] The people think in clear categories and sometimes in very simple terms. While we then philosophized about who the partisans and the chetniks were, and analyzed their programs, the people divided them simply into those who kill women and children and those who do not. It was the army which had the latter reputation which won. We should be like the partisans in that war.

We should be the people's army in this war, even though our army which does not have the same ideological (?basis) [as the partisans]. We are a democratic country; we do not want to impose a one-party or similar system soon, which the ideologues of the then partisans did, but we must keep the positive thing. Therefore, there are ustashas, there are chetniks, and there is a people's army which defends people and does not slaughter them.

That is what I would like to say about Vares.

[Correspondent] Relevant to what you are talking about is the fact that over these 20 months of aggression Bosnia-Herzegovina has in a sense turned into a house of death. Sadly, the number of violent deaths has topped 200,000. Even under such a rule of death some individual cases stand out as examples. One of them is the murder of those two Franciscans, Guardian Brother Milicevic and his vicar [name indistinct] in Fojnica. There is an ominous ring to this case. You have been in Fojnica. What can you tell us about this?

[Izetbegovic] First of all, we do not yet know who did this. I believe we are closing in on the person who did it. I would, however, be too hasty, it is too early, if I told you who it was. It is nevertheless not too early for me to say that I condemn this crime, regardless of who committed it, even it was our army.

Please God, let us eventually find out that it was not our boys who did it. Now that we cannot undo these deaths let me get this burden off my chest and hear that it was in fact their [Croats] plan to send a sabotage group there to kill people, thus diverting the world's attention from the bridge [in Mostar] and make people discuss the murder of these priests.

Yesterday, I visited brother Andjelovic to express my condolences and condemn this crime. I talked with him this morning following some reports that some other priests had been captured. Fortunately, that was not true. This is not something we should do.

I would like to recall something, even if you are familiar with all these cases anyway. Croatia should be reminded that five centuries ago, Bakir, the conqueror of Bosnia, issued this monastery in Fojnica with that famous charter. He was a great and clever man. Five centuries ago, he arrived there, met the Franciscans, and gave them a charter which guarantees their security. That charter has seen the Franciscan order, monasteries, and churches in Bosnia- Herzegovina through all these stormy 500 years.

Now some people of ours, assuming it was they who did it, think they should put an end to this. If they are our

people, my message is: there are many ustashas and chetniks in our vicinity, so if they want to demonstrate their heroism they can do so by dealing with them rather than by killing unarmed innocent people, priests. This is forbidden under man's law as well as under God's. We must not do such things. Whoever did it, he has not done us any favor.

Yet I believe it was not one of our men who did this because it is absolutely not in our interest. It serves the interests of those who gleefully applauded on hearing this report in order that no one would talk any longer about the bridge—now we are the same. They knocked the bridge down, while the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army allegedly killed priests in their monastery.

We are not going to do such things. We are going to investigate this case. In Fojnica I ordered a most stringent inquiry into this case, telling them that there was no excuse for this case, nor for anyone being involved, regardless of who it was. Of course, we are going to inform the public about the results of this investigation.

Let me take this opportunity to say, to repeat, that this attitude which is gaining ground here and there, this idea that there should be some kind of retaliation—along the lines, well, they blew up our bridge, we should therefore blow up their monastery—this attitude is a road to nowhere.

Those who reason in this way cannot see beyond their nose. This is the kind of blindness that is unfortunately in evidence here and there as a result of these sufferings. We have to keep our cool and common sense when deciding on what we should do in this situation. We can save Bosnia only as a civilized country. Unfortunately, squeezed in these pliers, in this dark that is trying to conquer Bosnia, it is we who must carry the torch if we want to win. Hence, our soldiers, all our armed people, should know that they must uphold the law if we want to find a way out.

[Correspondent] Let us now move formally into higher political spheres. Let me remind you that the president of the Republic of Croatia, Mr. Tudjman, yesterday said—one might say like the pope addressing the world—that the Croatian Army will defend Croatian interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is your comment on that?

[Izetbegovic] That is a very—so to say—sad and ugly statement. It announces an invasion, if I understand it well. The invasion in Bosnia is perhaps not on a large scale, but it has already begun because we know that elements of the Croatian Army are fighting around Gornji Vakuf.

When I returned yesterday, I called for verification of that speech. If it is verified, we will demand the convocation of a Security Council session [word indistinct]. It seems that Mr. Tudjman tried to conquer part of Bosnia through the HVO, but when that failed, when the HVO was defeated—I refer to the rebel part of the HVO—the need arose to conquer what the HVO failed to conquer through direct involvement. This is the only way I can interpret Tudjman's statement.

But Tudjman has made other statements, you know. He has called for some kind of Crusade against the creation of some kind of Islamic republic here, as he calls it. Our people know very well whether or not an Islamic republic is being created here. Of course, we want both Islam and Muslims to be free here, (?but) we have no intentions of creating an Islamic republic. We prove that every day. In Sarajevo, one can hear the bells of the cathedral, of the Orthodox church, and of the muezin.

After all, there is the Dobrotvor Serb charity and the Croat coordinating body consisting of seven or eight institutions. More than 100,000 Serbs and Croats live here, there are cultural associations and so on.

With a year's delay, Tudjman is following the path opened up by Slobodan Milosevic when he announced a crusade in Kosovo. [Passage indistinct] Milosevic announced a crusade, so did he. Since Milosevic carried out ethnic cleansing, he ordered the same. He just lags behind. Milosevic has already left that policy behind, as I understand it, and I think I understood it well. I think Milosevic realized that this policy does not lead anywhere. And now, with a delay, Tudjman has started following the same path.

I said we will demand a Security Council session if we establish beyond doubt that there are strong elements of the Croatian Army around Gornji Vakuf. We will demand it, with all the consequences stemming from it.

This is a known phenomenon. As people say: Deja vu, already heard, already seen. Countries which want to conquer always come to protect someone in a foreign country. According to Tudjman, the Croatian Army would come to protect the Croats and Croat interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Let me say that any action by the Bosnian Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina is legal, because that is the only legal army.

[Correspondent] Let us conclude the Croat topic with a question concerning future relations between the Bosnian Government and the Sarajevo Croats after the controversial renaming of the HVO's King Tvrtko Brigade into King Tvrtko Brigade of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army.

[Izetbegovic] There is room for only one army in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is clear that the existence of two armies is a cause of clashes. We have always offered to allow the loyal parts of the HVO to place themselves under the command of the [Bosnia- Herzegovina] Army if they recognize its supreme commander; they can remain as Croat brigades, but they can no longer follow orders from Grude [Mate Boban's stronghold in Herceg-Bosna].

I cannot deny that the Sarajevo operation took place, even though they were defending the city. However, we did not know how long they would be loyal because they

stubbornly insisted on receiving orders from Grude. They acknowledged a certain form of coordination here, but they received orders from Grude.

We could not accept this, because after all those events in Herzegovina they could have been ordered from Grude to abandon their lines and let the chetniks in. Of course, we could not run such a risk. Thank God, everything ended without major incidents.

The whole operation was completely legal and indisputable. The unit [King Tvrtko Brigade] is currently under the command of the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Army, fighting like all other soldiers. The only difference is that now it does not receive orders from Grude. Therefore, we can expect a change in the law on national defense, where it says that the Bosnia-Herzegovina armed forces are made up of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO. This was valid while the HVO fought chetniks.

In northern Bosnia, for example, the HVO is still fighting alongside the army, following orders issued by the headquarters of the Second Corps [Bosnian army] and not by Grude. That is why we have no problems up there. This transformation of the HVO is a formal issue there, and it can take place any time. Therefore, a change will probably be introduced. The law will be changed to state that the Bosnia-Herzegovina armed forces consist of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Correspondent] At the end of this conversation, let us talk about what was a message in the sense of being information and partly also a political gesture. Namely, during your tour, which lasted for 12 days, you had meetings with 32 war presidencies. You had some 50 meetings altogether, but one of them stirred particular interest among the public at home and abroad. I am talking about your meeting with managers in Zenica, where your spoke about your vision of the political future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. You know which statement of yours met with interest and sympathy, but also with ill will and comments questioning the whole concept of our struggle.

[Izetbegovic] To tell you the truth, I was wondering what that was. I had another look at that speech. In one's conversation with the people from the economic area one unavoidably crosses into the area of politics. There is nothing much to say about the economy, although the managers came up with a whole serious of very positive things, activities of the Zenica economy, perhaps some plans for the future, their hopes etc. The conversation then unavoidably crossed into the area of politics, our view of the future of Bosnia.

I said I thought that we—I guess this is where a misunderstanding could have occurred [words indistinct]. I will repeat it now. Anyway, I have already repeated it several times in different versions. There may have been differences in the way in which I expressed myself on different occasions, but the substance of what I said was always the same. That is my vision, which of course has not been made official. It has to be discussed at the presidency. We will perhaps change the platform on it.

[Word indistinct] the tactics of the struggle for a united Bosnia. We are not giving up a united Bosnia-Herzegovina. But how do we achieve a united Bosnia-Herzegovina?

First of all, we are not giving up on a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina. The question is how to obtain a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina? I have said that I see the struggle in two stages. I would call one of them the military stage, and the other the political stage.

We have to conduct the military stage of the struggle until we attain the things set out by the assembly with the famous but: We accept the concept, but on condition that the territories populated by the majority Bosniak people are returned under the control of the Bosnian authorities. We will persist in this using political means. If this is not possible, we will have to do all we can to achieve this through military means. That is the one point in which we could perhaps stop the military action.

Should we continue the war until we liberate, for example, Trebinje, Drvar, and so on, Banja Luka, or should we do it in a different way? I personally believe we should do this politically. How? We have to create a region—on the free territory which is under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities and army—which is under the rule of law, a region in which civilization will have been salvaged, in which democracy will reign. It will be a region where one basic law will be in force. No one on that territory will be persecuted for belonging to a religion or to a nation, or for holding a certain political view. Therefore, we have to introduce such a model here.

[Correspondent] In the Bosnian state?

[Izetbegovic] Yes, in the Bosnian state. This should be combined with a free market economy. People who fled should return here. We should start the reconstruction, the rebuilding of that part of Bosnia-Herzegovina which has all necessary conditions to do so. Things are already being built today, even under these conditions. One day, if we have open roads, if there is peace, I hope that... [pauses] Because this is the most developed area of Bosnia-Herzegovina, thank God it is not as destroyed as it seems when looking from a distance. It is an area in which industrial, hard-working traditions are still alive, in which there are many educated people. We will manage to rebuild that part of Bosnia soon. Then through the force of our political model we would defeat this darkness on both sides, the darkness in which parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina live and will continue to live for some time.

We should not resort to military force. I think the military option is not the right medicine. There is some sort of drunkenness—nationalistic, chauvinistic, fascist—call it what you like. The time of drunkenness has to pass, the time of the hangover too. People have to

sober up, and then the path to the reintegration of Bosnia will be open. [passage indistinct]

Therefore, the first stage is to liberate the parts where the majority Bosnian population used to live, and to bring the people back. The second stage is to use the strength of our political model to defeat this darkness.

That is what I said [in Zenica], and there was probably a certain misunderstanding there. This is where I would look for any misunderstanding.

[Correspondent] This attitude of yours to the nature of Bosnia, that it can no longer be what it once used to be, with Muslims, Croats, and Serbs in a ZAVNOBIH [partisan-led government in World War II] sense...

[Izetbegovic, interrupting] It is obvious that ethnic cleansing has achieved its goals for the time being. One day, perhaps, things will start slowly reversing to their former shape. The demographic make-up of Bosnia has been totally changed. This is a fact, not a hopeless one, though. We should remember that in Visegrad and Foca there were no Muslims 50 or 40 years ago. Later, we Muslims were in a majority in Visegrad, while in Foca it was fifty-fifty. People did return.

They will return here, too, although here it will probably take longer; it will take Bosnia longer to return to its former self. It will be a matter of time, 20, perhaps 30 years. In the history of an individual this is a long period. In the history of a nation it is not a long period. We should not waste our energies. We will reintegrate Bosnia. In other words, it is most likely, on the basis of this reality, that we face a certain period of considerably separated existence. I cannot imagine that we can find an immediate solution as some idealists believe.

I believe, nevertheless, that there is room in this plan for idealists, too; that is, I believe that the dream of an integrated Bosnia-Herzegovina should be slowly brought into being. This will most probably be done by these idealists or by our children one day. Yes, there is room for idealists, as well as for realists. There is a job for them, too, since the first part of the plan should be carried out, namely to liberate these areas by establishing a living Bosnia-Herzegovina as an entity where life is possible by civilized standards, an entity which will persuade other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina by its power of civilized values and development, the power of justice.

How did Germany achieve its unification? West Germany did not use an army or nuclear bombs, as you know. It simply used the power of political [words indistinct] instead.

This refers to my debate of sorts with some people who believe that we should say immediately: We want to restore a Serbian-Croatian-Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina whose joint government will be installed instantly. My reply to this is: If we were to do this across the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it would not be we from Sarajevo who could say which Serbs should be members of that government, or which Croats. The Serbs would delegate chetniks to that government, the Croats would delegate—shall I call them ustashas—or some redneck Croats with whom it would be impossible to build a Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Reasonable people can restore Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was a showcase of a certain kind of reason and common sense in this part of the world. It still is. It cannot be developed by people driven by passions, by nationalist passions. A kind of awareness has to be resurrected to the effect that mutual communication is possible, that people can live together. This awareness has to resurrected, it has been obliterated. It did not take too much effort to obliterate it, assuming it was ever properly cultivated. To have it restored will take time. We will need some time.

This is probably the part of my speech which perhaps did not correspond with the visions harbored by some idealists who simply want to bypass some realities here. Some relations have now taken shape. It is now impossible to talk coexistence in Herzegovina in the immediate wake of Mostar. You can talk about it as some distant ideal. But try to say that in Mostar. You go there and tell them.

As for Mostar, the greatest suffering in the world, not just in Bosnia-Herzegovina, is perhaps taking place in Mostar today. It is terrifying what has happened to those people there, what conditions have been wrought upon them. You cannot talk to them about coexistence. In their view everyone on the other side of the Neretva shares the blame.

Of course, not everybody is to blame. The biggest mistake we could make is to say that all Croats are ustashas and all Serbs are chetniks. That is the biggest mistake we could make in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We must, despite everything, try to make a distinction between the Croats and the ustashas, the Serbs and the chetniks.

But there, where such suffering is taking place now, where people have no means of heating, no food, where they are being shelled every day from the other side of the Neretva—there we cannot speak of a life together at the moment, or I am afraid, for a long time to come. Much healing will have to be done, and some time will have to pass before something that is normal can return. By that I mean that people can live together, with the Croats, the Serbs, as other people live. But after what has happened, after this terrible bitter experience, it will take a long time.

That is more or less my explanation, my attitude, my personal view of Bosnia. Of course, it is a bit personal; I do not know how many people will agree with it. I must say that I have toured Bosnia. I intended to go to Herzegovina, too, but I spent much more time than I intended on touring Bosnia, and I had to arrive back before Silajdzic's departure for Geneva, to talk to him.

I arrived here a few hours before he left. I traveled the whole night and arrived at 0400 or 0500. I arrived here to see him before he left so we could agree on what he will say in Geneva. This is why I was in a hurry and why I interrupted the trip which I will, God willing, continue some other time to see Konjic, Jablanica, Mostar.

I went on the trip to test some of my views. To test them in direct contact with people, with those who are usually called leading people, with ordinary people, with soldiers, to see what Bosnia is now after everything it has been through. Some peoples will have never experienced what Bosnia has been through. Peoples which go back 2,000 years cannot find a single episode in their history which can be compared with what we have experienced in Bosnia. Horrific things.

This is harsh experience that the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina have been through. I wanted to see what the prevailing attitudes are, what is left of our beliefs, ideals, and hopes, what is left after all that. I could say that earlier in this interview I was simply referring to what is left.

People still believe in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is not a phrase. It is interesting. People said to me: Mr. President, a united Bosnia-Herzegovina! Of course, I confirmed it, and it will have to remain our goal. When we talked about how to achieve this, I regularly described this path: Two phases. We need a break, we need a rest, we do not need war.

Besides, let me say one thing. In his speech, Tudjman deliberately or accidentally completely misinterpreted one of my speeches when he said: Izetbegovic said that Serb parts of Bosnia will be integrated by political means and Croat parts by military means. It was either misinformation or a fabrication. It is an ugly thing in any case. I said we will endeavor to get our areas, Bosnian areas, by military means and the other areas by political means.

If their model is better, it will win. It is clear that their model is not better, because it is burdened with so many crimes against people and property. Our model is possible with certain changes. It should be improved and implemented, it should not be just a declaration. When we say we want civil rights, we should ensure them. When we say we want all people to be safe, we should implement this by preventing murders and kidnapping.

Recently we cleared up this problem here in Sarajevo. We have to implement this.

[Correspondent] Could we sum up your words like this: Bosnia- Herzegovina will be possible as a multi-ethnic, multicultural, multireligious society when, on the Serb side, the Serbs prevail over chetniks, and ustashas are defeated on the Croat side.

[Izetbegovic] Yes, just like that. We will also have to make a contribution in this respect. Our main task is to build our state as a respectable law-governed part of Bosnia.

[Correspondent] We have recently learned about two international initiatives regarding the political future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The French-German initiative, launched by Foreign Ministers Juppe and Kinkel, seeks peace through the gradual lifting of sanctions against Serbia at the pace at which peace is implemented in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Italian Foreign Minister Andreatta opts for an exchange of territory as a way to establish peace. What is your opinion on the two proposals?

[Izetbegovic] Concerning the first [Kinkel-Juppe] proposal on the gradual lifting of sanctions, that could perhaps be acceptable provided Serbia pledges to change its stance on minorities. It should be demanded at the same time that Serbia respect human, civil, political, and other rights of Muslims in Sandzak and Kosovo—the legitimate rights of Kosovo. The inhabitants of Kosovo should define what these rights are as far as Kosovo is concerned.

Speaking about Sandzak, we demand that the Muslims in Sandzak be given what the Serbs in Croatia demand for themselves—no more and no less. So, if the Kinkel-Juppe initiative were to combine these things with a military disengagement of [word indistinct] in Herzegovina, it would then be possible—in line with progress made in that process, which would have to be closely supervised—to gradually lift the sanctions.

[Correspondent] And with the implementation of the principles of the London conference, of course.

[Izetbegovic] Yes. As far as the second [Andreatta] proposal is concerned, my first reaction was negative, because it envisages a change of borders. That is a risky process, and I think I would find it very difficult to get involved in such a thing. That proposal would in fact solve Croatia's problem at the expense of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as I have understand it, if I have understood Andreatta well. My first reaction to that is negative.

[Correspondent] At the beginning of the interview you said you are afraid of unrealistic optimism. Are you afraid of our realistic pessimism, i.e., the pessimism of our reality.

[Izetbegovic] Fortunately, pessimism is rare. Just take a walk through Bosnia and you will see for yourself that surprising optimism prevails. I must tell you that you are wrong in this case, keeping in mind the conditions we live in, the uncertainty of our immediate future, the winter. I said on one occasion: Do not fill me with your optimism because I could make a wrong decision. Of course, I try to combine my impressions with other realistic, exact data in order to achieve an entirely realistic attitude.

There is no pessimism, that is what I wanted to say. You can find it here and there, but the feeling that prevails is faith in the future.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Mr. President, for taking part in our program.

Silajdzic 'Prepared To Accept' Franco-German Plan

AU2011212193 Paris AFP in English 2055 GMT 20 Nov 93

[By Peter Mackler]

[Text] Split, Croatia, Nov 20 (AFP)—Declaring "we have to make peace now," a war-weary Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said Saturday his government was prepared to accept a Franco-German initiative to end the conflict. France and Germany have suggested a progressive lifting of U.N. economic sanctions imposed on Belgrade if the Bosnian Serbs make the extra territorial concessions sought by the Moslem-led government in Sarajevo.

Silajdzic said that while the outcome would still reward aggression, he would agree to it to end nearly 20 months of bloodshed which the Bosnians say have claimed more than 200,000 lives.

"It is a compromise at the expense of justice, at the expense of our civilised experience," he said in an interview here. "But it must be made because of those who somehow remined alive."

"We have to make peace now," the prime minister said. "Unless it (the war) is stopped now, each day and each month passing has catastrophic results not only for the present but for the future."

The peace plan on the table when the Geneva talks broke down two months ago would give the Bosnians 30 percent of the land to 52 percent for the Serbs and 18 percent for the Croats. The Sarajevo government is seeking another three or four percent, mainly in the northwest and east to allow its people to return to the worst "ethnically cleansed" areas, Silajdzic said.

He said recent bilateral discussions among the warring parties on the proposal by Paris and Bonn had made some progress and a "critical mass of good will" was developing for a settlement. "If this Franco-German initiative is successful then we will stand in our assembly and ask our people and our deputies to accept it," said Silajdzic, who was en route from Zagreb to Sarajevo.

Asked whether the Bosnians were effectively throwing in the towel in the war, Silajdzic spoke of the approaching winter hardships facing the country with relief supplies disrupted. "You have seen frozen people. You have seen children on the road. I don't think any vanity should stand in the way of helping those people," he said.

Silajdzic said the climate for peace was improving because all three parties now realised they could not wipe each other out and were having an increasingly tough time finding foreign funding for their war efforts.

He said he was encouraged by his talks Friday in Zagreb with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and the Bosnian Croats, and he believed the Serbs were sincere in considering new concessions. "It looks like this time everybody has had enough," said Silajdzic, who as foreign minister was seen a hardliner in Sarajevo. "There is a pervading sense of the futility of further fighting."

Silajdzic again blasted the West for what he called the "moral fiasco" of refusing the Bosnians an exemption from an arms embargo imposed for all parties. He insisted any peace accord would need international guarantees.

But the prime minister was unfazed about the problems the United States and its NATO allies appear to be encountering in raising a 50,000-strong force to police an eventual settlement. "If we make a good arrangement, a sincere not a tactical peace, I guess we won't need all those 50,000 troops which are very difficult to get," he said.

Greek Foreign Minister Meets Silajdzic in Split

NC2011190293 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1600 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias was unable to go to Sarajevo because the city's airport was closed due to bad weather conditions. Papoulias' plane returned to Split where he had a one-and-a-half-hour meeting with Mr. Silajdzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Muslims [title as heard]. Siladjzic was stranded in Split for the same reason. During their talks Papoulias informed the Muslim leadership about the three-part proposal that the Greek Presidency plans to submit to the European Union to resolve of the Yugoslav problem.

From Split Papoulias went to Zagreb, where an Olympic Airways plane was waiting to take him to Luxembourg, where he will brief his European counterparts at the extraordinary ministerial meeting of the European Union about the results of his tour of Balkan capitals.

Silajdzic Cited on Bilateral Talks, Aid Convoys

LD2111213793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Report on a news conference with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 21 November by an unidentified correspondent; passages within quoatation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] At the beginning of today's news conference in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic commented on the events in Geneva, including the declaration on free passage for humanitarian convoys and bilateral meetings.

[Silajdzic] "The reason why we went to Geneva was to open corridors for humanitarian convoys. We signed the declaration and its results remain to be seen. All of us agreed that humanitarian convoys should be allowed free

passage. Our side insisted that, if necessary, force should be used to protect convoys. Experience has taught us that we cannot experiment with hundreds of thousands of people and that the convoys must go through. If necessary force should be used, if not, so much the better. A joint declaration was signed regarding this matter. Let us hope that the results will be good. I believe that this is a good initiative by Mrs. Ogata, the UN high commissioner for refugees; it came at the right time.

"As far as bilateral talks are concerned, I had bilateral talks with Serb representatives in Geneva. We discussed various topics, from humanitarian to political issues. I have a feeling that conditions are being created for positive talks and negotiations on the cessation of the war. That is all I can say now."

[Correspondent] Zagreb was the next stop on Mr. Silajdzic's tour.

[Silajdzic] "In Zagreb I held talks with Mr. Tudjman, Mr. Granic, Mr. Boban, and other Croat representatives, particularly from Herzegovina. We arrived at the conclusion that our top military delegations should meet to discuss two issues: Technical details regarding the convoys and talks on the possible cessation of hostilities. Our top military delegations should discuss the two issues at one of their upcoming meetings. I hope the meetings will take place soon.

"We also discussed other details in Zagreb. We held talks about the stalemate in the exchange of prisoners in Mostar, the release of blocked helicopters [in Medjugorje], and we also mentioned a field hospital in 38 containers that has been stuck in the port of Ploce for months. This hospital is waiting to be transported to the left bank of Mostar and would be of great help to the population of Mostar, particularly to those in need of medical aid and treatment.

"Of course we discussed the urgent passage of first convoys to central Bosnia and the left bank in Mostar. Commissions have been set up to work on this matter. They are based in Zagreb and they have daily contacts with the people responsible for convoys in Croatia and Herceg-Bosna."

[Correspondent] Responding to a question about Zagreb's readiness to influence the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats to implement the agreement, Silajdzic said:

[Silajdzic] "Well, the fact that representatives of Herzegovina Croats, those responsible for stopping the convoys, have attended my talks with Mr. Granic could be a good sign. I hope that I am not wrong but I believe that no one can profit from blocking the convoys since everyone is suffering. However, if it does happen, if the convoys are stopped, we will insist on the use of force. We also have to bear in mind that at this time of the year convoys can be stopped by poor weather conditions, by snow. That is why we are insisting on a more urgent distribution of more food, equipment, particularly winter survival equipment. Of course, we also want better quality food. Along with this we will continue to insist on the air drop operation, air drops of aid to the areas impossible to reach by road."

[Correspondent] Prime Minister Silajdzic said the following about his talks with Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias:

[Silajdzic] "Mr. Papoulias was on his way to Sarajevo. He tried unsuccessfully to reach Sarajevo from Split three or four times. Our plane was diverted too, as we were approaching Mt. Bjelasnica because of deteriorating weather conditions and due to the situation at [Sarajevo] airport. As a result our meeting, planned to take place here—or at least that part in which the three of us were to take part—of course, Mr. Papoulias wanted to have a meeting with President Izetbegovic, but this did not happen since he had to stay in Split from where he then left for elsewhere. In other words, our meeting took place at Split airport.

"Well, you see, my impressions of this meeting are rather good, because I felt that Greece, which takes over the presidency of the EC from 1 January, wants to use its own influence and the influence of its position to establish peace in this region since it has also been affected by the current situation here. In other words, when the entire region is affected, primarily by a transport blockade, the sanctions etc., Greece is affected as well. In my view, it can be expected that precisely because it comes from the region and because it itself has been affected, Greece will make a maximum effort to speed up the implementation of such initiatives as the Franco-German one that we talked about and that has not so far been generally known, but which was circulated by several EC foreign ministers, in other words, to speed up the initiatives and to begin peace talks.

"As I said before, I have the impression that there are signs of a climate and conditions conducive to a more serious talk; it is obvious that to continue the war is damaging to all of us. It seems that the raison d'etre of the killing, of destruction, is gradually disappearing. No one has been left unscathed in this aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have all been affected, both the victim and the aggressor, and even third countries. This is where my hope lies, as well as in the fact that it is no longer possible to find anyone prepared to pay, to invest in the conflicts, in the war. This is the fact that is likely to lead to meetings—these can be bilateral—and to a more serious discussion of the need to sign peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

[Correspondent] In reference to the fresh, amended Franco- German initiative, Prime Minister Silajdzic said, inter alia:

[Silajdzic] "We support the initiative but an initiative does not mean an agreement. An initiative is not a plan, it is merely an initiative. In other words, we support that initiative but we will react to the plan once we see it. In my view, this initiative is necessary since there is no other. Simply, we have run out of ideas, and for this

reason the Kinkel-Juppe initiative has come at the right time, is topical, and we shall react to it once we have it before us.

Karadzic Rejects Idea of Forming New Yugoslavia

AU2011154193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, appeared today on the "From the Spot" program on Belgrade Radio's first program. Here is what President Karadzic said about the possibility of people from the former Yugoslavia living together again.

[Begin recording] [Karadzic] We are no longer interested in Yugoslavia. The Serbs in the republic of Srpska are praying to God for such a Yugoslavia not to be again created. However, if....

[Unidentified reporter, interrupting] In Krajina, too?

[Karadzic] In Krajina, too. Our state is simply sufficient for us Serbs. We are increasingly becoming aware that this should not be a Serbian federation, but a unified Serbian state, such as France, for instance.

However, if international circumstances force us again to take someone in some common state creation, we Serbs have one condition: Before this is done, the Serbian state must have clear borders, and these borders must be guaranteed for all time, so that they cannot be brought into question with anything, with any kind of divisions. The question of the kind of association could only be raised after that, although we think that all those who want to have their own states should have them and should leave us alone. [end recording]

Karadzic Threatens To 'Liberate' Tuzla

AU2111142093 Paris AFP in English 0008 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 21 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said Saturday that it might be necessary to "liberate" the Moslem-bastion of Tuzla where he said Serbs were being "detained against their will" by the Moslems. "There is no reason why Moslems should detain 40,000 Serbs in Sarajevo and in Tuzla 20,000 more plus as many Serbian Yugoslav nationals," the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA quoted Karadzic as saying.

He said the situation in Tuzla, a key industrial town of 130,000 people, was "particularly dangerous" because it made Serb fighters all the more eager to "liberate the town and free those Serbs being held there".

Bosnian Serb forces went on the offensive last week in the areas round Olovo and Kladanj about 70 kilometers (45 miles) north of Sarajevo. Political analysts said their plan might to be surround Tuzla and force its Moslem leadership, up to now solidly behind President Alija Izetbegovic, to make a separate peace similar to the one concluded by the Moslem enclave of Bihac in the west of Bosnia- Herzegovina.

Karadzic said he had "made clear to the Moslems that it would be better for them to let the Serbs go than to force the Serb army to liberate them." Once the Serbs had left, Karadzic said "Moslems leaving Serb territories could settle in Tuzla in apartments vacated by the Serbs."

Meanwhile, a Serb secessionist leader from Croatia spoke out Saturday in favour of the creation of a unitary Serb state. Mile Paspalj, the speaker of the self-styled "parliament" of the secessionist Krajina region said Croatian Serbs had decided to merge with all Serbs in a state led by one man.

Speaking to several hundred supporters at a public debate in Podgorica, the capital of Montenegro, Paspalj said Karadzic was the "only man west of the Drina (the river dividing Serbia from Bosnia- Herzegovina) capable of bringing together all the Serbs".

In a related development, Patriarch Pavle, head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, said in Vienna that he would not give his blessing to a greater Serbia achieved through war and bloodshed. "If an enlarged Serbia cannot be achieved without such sacrifices, I could never give my consent," he said Friday, on the second day of a five-day official visit to Austria—the first by a Serbian patriarch since World War II.

Boban Installs Government; Objectives Noted

LD2011204893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Excerpt] At its session in Mostar today the house of representatives of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna elected a new republican government by endorsing the government's new members proposed recently by Mate Boban, president of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna. Zdenko Vranjes reports for Croatian Radio.

In the course of the debate there were no reactions to the names of the government members proposed by Boban. However, the deputies did voice some criticism regarding the procedure of electing the government whereby, according to them, the deputies had been made to face a fait accompli. They said that the current law did not empower a president of a republic to appoint a government; thus, these appointments were made although no legislation had been prepared whereby a government could be elected under a procedure such as the one that was applied on this occasion.

However, the deputies let this pass, so Jadranko Prlic was elected prime minister nearly unanimously. Jozo Martinovic, Ivan Culjak, and Perica Jukic were elected deputy prime ministers. The names of another 17 ministers were also endorsed.

In his address, Prime Minister Jadranko Prlic listed the following as his government's key objectives: putting an

end to the war; the creation of the republic of the Croatian people where all other peoples and ethnic minorities are guaranteed all human and national rights by European standards; and securing fundamental rights for the Croats in all other areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Among the government's main tasks he also included increasing the defense capabilities of formations of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and normalizing the situation within the police which, along with the creation of a legal system, will prevent unlawful bevavior and crime. He promised that everyone in Herceg-Bosna will soon notice better organization in the police and in the legal system and that the government's measures will be implemented on the front lines through the HVO's better organization, respect for order and discipline, and international humanitarian and warfare law.

At the moment, the assembly is discussing measures to curb unlawful behavior and crime and to increase the personal security of citizens in Herceg-Bosna and that of their property. Afterwards, a draft territorial organization of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna will be discussed.

According to the draft, Herceg-Bosna is to be divided into four counties. This will supposedly satisfy the needs for autonomy in decisionmaking on the vital issues of the Croats of Posavina as well as in other areas that in some sense constitute separate administrative and territorial entities. The house of representatives is also expected to articulate its political stand on the position of the Croats in their besieged enclaves. [passage omitted]

Jovanovic Cites EC's 'Host of Mistakes'

LD1911213293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1938 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Bonn, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic says that the deterioration of relations between the new Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) and the European Community has not been the fault of the former, but the result of a biased policy pursued from the outset by the European Twelve in dealing with the Yugoslav crisis.

In an interview for the Serbian-language EVROPSKI EKSPRES weekly, published in Frankfurt, Germany, on Friday, Jovanovic says that many of the E.C. member-states have become aware that they have acted under strong German pressure, committing a host of mistakes. Germany was among the first of the E.C. states to recognise the breakaway Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia as independent states.

The E.C. imposed economic sanctions on former Yugoslavia in late November of 1991, eight months before the U.N. Security Council did the same.

Minister Jovanovic says he hopes that the awareness of the mistakes will reflect on the E.C.'s official attitudes, which would speed up a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. In this light, relations between the new Yugoslavia and the E.C. might soon be improved and restored to the level of before the outbreak of the Yugoslav crisis, says Jovanovic.

UNPROFOR: Aid Convoys To Resume 24 Nov

AU2111140593 Paris AFP in English 1350 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Nov 21 (AFP)—Overland aid convoys to central Bosnia are to resume Wednesday, a U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] spokesman said here Sunday, ending a four-week suspension. "The first convoy to central Bosnia will be Wednesday from Zagreb to Zenica," said Major Manuel Cabesas.

However, the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] here said it had not been informed of the resumption of UNHCR convoys, suspended four weeks ago. Normally the Sarajevo office would be informed of such a movement as it would have to gain clearance for the convoy through Bosnian Serb held territory from the serb authorities in Pale, a UNHCR official said here.

"We are capable of starting tomorrow (Monday)," Lieutenant Colonel Bill Aikman, spokesman for the U.N. Protection Force, said earlier Sunday.

"We are getting our equipment ready and the roads are being readied, and the HCR (office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees) are loading their trucks," he said. The trucks contained vital winterisation equipment: emergency food rations, blankets, stoves and plastic sheeting for makeshift windows, he added. U.N. engineers were out with snow ploughs to ensure the routes remained serviceable in the event of a resumption of relief convoys, Aikman added.

Butrus-Ghali suspended aid convoys to central Bosnia four weeks ago after a Danish truck driver was killed in a mortar attack blamed by UNPROFOR on the Moslem-dominated Bosnian army. The suspension had dealt a serious blow to efforts to prepare Bosnia for the bitter winter cold, said Aikman.

"The problem is that by losing these four weeks we have missed the last four weeks of good weather to get the equipment in place before the snow," said Aikman.

Serbs Refuse To Allow UN Observers in Gorazde

AU1911142293 Paris AFP in English 1331 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Nov 19 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces are still preventing UN military observers from returning to Gorazde, one of the UN-proclaimed safe havens in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a UN spokesman said here Friday [19 November].

Meanwhile staff from the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in ex-Yugoslavia escorted a humanitarian convoy of food, medical supplies and coal into two hospitals for the mentally handicapped in central Bosnia on Thursday. The hospitals in Fojnica and Pacovic were abandoned by their staff amid heavy fighting last week.

UNPROFOR spokesman Major Idesbald Van Biesebroeck said two observers who tried to go back on duty in the eastern enclave of Gorazde last weekend were denied permission by the Bosnian Serb army with the explanation their papers were out of order. Since then, they had repeatedly been refused permission or found no Serb authorities available.

Gorazde is one of the six safe-havens proclaimed by the Security Council, but since the agreement between the two warring parties was never reached, the UN's only presence there are military observers.

Another problem observers in Gorazde are facing is that they are not allowed to cross the confrontation lines between Bosnian and Bosnian Serb army. While they are allowed to travel within Bosnian controlled pocket, the Serbs are denying them freedom of movement in the territories they control.

UNPROFOR has been having problems with the Bosnian Serbs in eastern Bosnia for the past week, the spokesman added.

In Srebrenica and Zepa, two other Moslem enclaves in the east, it is "extremely difficult" for UNPROFOR staff to get in and out, said Van Biesebroeck. The Serbs were refusing to give clearances in the last four or five days, the spokesman said, but he added that with an agreement reached Thursday in Geneva between the three Bosnian factions, to allow aid convoys through their territory, "the situation will probably change today or tomorrow".

Fojnica, scene of heavy fighting between the Bosnian Army and Bosnian Croat forces last week, was quiet Thursday.

The hospital there and the other in Pacovic are still manned by UN forces, the only change being that the number of Canadian troops has been been reduced to 40 following the arrival of medically-trained staff from British, Danish and other Scandinavian UN contingents in Bosnia.

The Nordic battalion of UNPROFOR has been patrolling the Olovo area north of Sarajevo, but they did not see any evidence of "serious fights", said Van Biesebroeck. The Bosnian Army has reported major Serb offensives against Bosnian troops in the area for last ten days.

Fighting meanwhile increased inside the Bihac pocket, in the northwest, pitting the Bosnian Army against seccesionist forces of Fikret Abdic, a former member of Bosnian collective presidency who broke with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic. Fighting took place in Sturlic, in the eastern part of the pocket, but the Bihac-based French battalion reported that neither side advanced.

Sanctions Leave Schools, Hospitals Without Heat

LD2011102493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0118 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Trebinje, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—Although temperatures have recently fallen below zero, schools and hospitals in all municipalities in eastern Herzegovina are not heated at all due to the sanctions, which make it impossible to provide coal.

All nurseries and even the maternity ward in the Trebinje hospital are without heating. The situation in the hospital has recently become critical due to the lack of heating and the shortage of medicines, so only the most serious cases remain in the hospital. Only the intensive care unit is heated with electric heaters, so the hospital staff fear any possible electricity cuts.

Temperatures in schools in eastern Herzegovina were only several degrees above zero yesterday, but classes were held anyway.

New Commander of 2d Hill Brigade Appointed

AU2211105493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] We have received a statement from the command of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The statement reads:

As part of the routine activities regarding the monitoring, reviewing, and improving the system of governing, commanding, and raising the combat readiness of the units of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and on the orders of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, (Wilmo Kovac) has been appointed commander of the 2d Hill Brigade.

Zakir Puskar, former commander of the 2d Hill Brigade, and his deputy Sead Babic have been relieved of their duties and will be assigned new war duties in accordance with the needs of the 1st Corps. This was reported by the 1st Corps Information Service.

Serbs, Croat Sign Cease-Fire in Western Slavonia

LD2111145493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Okucani, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Serb authorities in Western Slavonia and the Serb Krajina Army (SVK) have reached an agreement with the authorities of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Army that calls on both sides to refrain from opening fire, from infiltrating sabotage and terrorist groups, and from engaging in provocations by means of public information media, the press center of the SVK's 18th Corps has announced in Okucani.

The agreement came into effect at 0600 hours this morning, 21 November. The Serb side was represented by Colonel Milan Celeketic, commander of the SVK's 18th Corps; Dusan Vitez, president of the regional council of the Western Slavonia Serb Autonomous Region; and the presidents of the Serb municipalities of Okucani and Pakrac. The Croatian side was represented by General Tomsic, Colonel Kristanovic, and the representatives of the municipalities of Lipik and Pakrac from Croatia.

Yesterday's meeting on a highway near Novska was attended by representatives of the UN Protection Forces' Jordanian battalion.

Both sides agreed to clear a minefield near Pakrac and hand it over to the Serb people for cultivation, while the Lipik field would be handed over to Croats for the same purpose.

A special commission was set up to monitor the implementation of the agreement. It will be chaired by Lieutenant-Colonel Marinko Gajic on the Serb side and Maj Zvonko Brigaljevic on the Croatian side.

Divjak Protests Croatian, HVO Flights

AU1911152493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] We inform you that we will no longer guarantee the safety of unannounced and unapproved Croatian Army and HVO [Croatian Defense Council] flights over the territory of the internationally recognized and sovereign Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that we will undertake adequate measures should these violations continue. This is stated in the protest that Jovan Divjak, deputy commander of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Supreme Command, lodged with the UNPROFOR [UN Protecton Forces] Command in view of the frequent flights of the Croatian Army and HVO helicopters.

Divjak noted that on 14 November Croatian Army and HVO transport helicopters parachuted munitions in the wider region of Vitez and Novi Travnik. Other unapproved flights were registered the same day. The flights, Divjak stresses, were conducted without informing or getting the approval of UNPROFOR, which was in direct violation of UN Security Council Resolutions 781 and 816. UNPROFOR and NATO forces failed to react to these acts in accordance with their mandate.

This is said in Jovan Divjak's protest, lodged with the UNPROFOR Command for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatian Army Helicopters Sighted in No-Fly Zone

AU2211133593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Report from the 6th Corps Press Center]

[Text] Neither yesterday nor the previous days passed without enemy provocations against the villages and defense lines in the 6th Corps' zone of responsibility. The Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor army's provocations were registered against the defenders positions in the area of Mt. Bjelasnica. As for the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units and the aggressor from Croatia, this morning we registered particularly fierce activity against the villages in the Prozor municipality. The night passed in sporadic, small-arms provocations, while yesterday morning will be remembered by the fierce shelling of villages that the HVO extremists and their helpers from Croatia perpetrated from all available artillery pieces. Luckily, there were no casualties, but the material damage in the villages is enormous.

Shelling has also been registered in the past few days on the Fojnica front. The town center and the surrounding villages were showered with artillery projectiles. Twenty-seven civilians were wounded, many of them children. The HVO, its units, are regrouping in this area, but our units are ready to respond to their attacks. Overflights of the Croatian Army's helicopters were registered yesterday on the (Inac)-Kiseljak route. This is more proof of the violation of the no-fly resolution banning flights across the Bosnia-Herzegovina skies. The aggressor from Croatia is obviously ignoring NATO warnings, and, relying on the experience of his allies, the chetniks, is violating this and all other resolutions of the world organizations that concern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serb Aircraft Fire Missiles on Teocak

LD2011184393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Report by correspondent Hajrudin Hodzic]

[Text] Early this morning the Serbian-chetnik aggressor launched a heavy artillery and infantry attack on Teocak from all directions. Shells of various calibers rained on our defense lines as well as on civilian installations. Aircraft fired air-to-surface missiles as they overflew Teocak today. Two surface-to-surface missiles were also fired.

The brunt of the enemy's attack was aimed at a dam controlled by the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, after which Teocak's entire defense line came under attack. All these attacks were successfully repelled. Heavy losses in personnel were inflicted on the enemy. Three defenders were seriously wounded on our side. The defense lines, however, remain unchanged.

We caution the Serbian side: the dam has been mined for some time now. If the aggression against Teocak continues, the dam will be blown up.

Muslims Use 'Chlorine-Charged Projectiles' on Serbs

LD2111150393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1405 GMT 21 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bratunac, November 21 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Moslems once more used the banned chlorine-charged projectiles to fire on the Serbs in the Mt. Majevica battle zone. TANJUG correspondent learned Sunday from the Bosnian Serb military sources that the target of the offensive on the Mt. Majevica battle front, in which the Moslems used 120 mm chlorine-charged shells, was the area of a place called Lopare and the village of Mezgraje.

In the Sarajevo area, the Moslem infantry and snipers were active continually over the past 24 hours, especially towards Vogosca, Rajlovac, Nedjarici, Lukavica, Grbavica, Vrace and Zlatiste. The Serb section of Luzani in Sarajevo's Ilidza suburb sustained a number of 82 mm mortar shells, while re-grouping of the Moslem units was detected in the area of Ugorsko-Kobilja Glava-Hotonj.

The Moslem units continually fired in infantry-artillery attacks on larger portions of the Serb defense lines as well as in the area of Doboj and Mt. Ozren in the northern and eastern part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Moslems continued provocations towards Foca from the area of Gorazde, which the U.N. Security Council declared a safe area. Also, fierce mutual armed clashes continued between the Moslems and the Croats in the Neretva river valley, and especially in central Bosnia.

Judging from these developments, the chances for realizing the latest Geneva accord on free and unimpeded movement of humanitarian convoys were at this time rather slim, except if they, as was the case thus far, moved solely across the territory of the Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.).

Abdic's Forces Capture Todorovo Near Cazin

LD2011134793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—In a powerful counteroffensive, forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia controlled by Fikret Abdic have managed to capture the village of Todorovo, 12 km north of Cazin, thus reaching the approaches to the town, Radio Velkaton has reported from Velika Kladusa.

Cazin is still controlled by the forces of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army commanded by Atif Dudakovic, but all surrounding hills are under the control of Abdic's forces.

The command of the forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia has announced that dozens of Alija Izetbegovic's jihad-warriors remained lying in the deep snow on the battlefield. It has also been announced that approximately 100 of Izetbegovic's supporters were wounded. Six soldiers of the autonomous province of western Bosnia were killed and about 20 wounded in the fighting.

An eyewitness from Todorovo said to Velkaton that the village looked terrible. They said that members of the 5th Corps had killed 30 civilians and that houses and other facilities had been set on fire.

Albanian Parliamentary Delegation Visits Zagreb

LD1911193093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] An Albanian parliamentary delegation headed by Parliament President Pjeter Arbnori is paying a several-days long visit to the Croatian parliament. Alvino Cehic reports:

[Cehic] [Croatian] Parliament President Stipe Mesic and a Croatian delegation which included Josip Manolic, Milan Djukic, Katarina Fucek, Anjelko Sikiric, and Bozidar Petrac, held talks this morning with the Albanian delegation on political and economic relations between the two countries.

It was jointly agreed that the relations have been constantly improving since the big changes took place in Eastern Europe. Many concrete tasks have been undertaken, air traffic has been established, as well as maritime traffic between Rijeka and Durres, and some Croatian companies are already working on the reconstruction of the Albanian economy.

New specific transactions are to be expected after signing agreements on cooperation between the two states. It has been learned from INA [Croatian oil company] that this company, the largest in Croatia, has a good chance of signing a contract for oil exploration, exploitation, and trade. Croatian civil engineering companies also have resources big enough to be involved in the building of a number of hotels on the Albanian part of the Adriatic coast.

Since Albania is now an open country, all Croatian companies have been invited to embark on joint ventures with Albanian companies, because its laws allow foreign investment and transfer of profits.

The head of the Albanian delegation is expected to receive the Croatian deputy foreign minister, and Stjepan Mesic will host a dinner this evening in honor of the Albanian delegation.

Tudjman, Arbnori Stress Friendship

AU2211095893 Tirana ATA in English 0932 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 22 (ATA)—In a meeting between Croatian President Tudjman and Albanian Parliament speaker, Pjeter Arbnori, the two stressed the need for consolidation of the friendship between the two countries in face of the threat of the expansion of the war in the Balkans. Mr. Arbnori, who is leading an Albanian delegation on a visit to Croatia was received by President Tudjman on November 20. Mr. Tudjman spoke of the Croatian initiatives to further talks with the Bosnian authorities regarding the division of Bosnia, and he asked to be informed about the situation in Kosova.

Mr. Arbnori said he appreciated the role of Croatia, and particularly the personal contribution of Mr. Tudjman, in the development of democracy in former Yugoslavia. "Strong Albania and Croatia are factors for stability in the Balkans", Mr. Arbnori stressed. He said that the Republic of Albania has defended and will resolutely defend the rights of the Albanians in Kosova and elsewhere. "Kosova was a constituent element in former Yugoslavia and its problems must by no means be treated as internal affairs of chauvinist Serbia", Mr. Arbnori said.

On the same day, Mr. Arbnori met also with the Croatian premier, Mr. Valentic, with whom he discussed the possibilities of Croatian investment in Albania, especially in tourism, oil and gas. Mr. Valentic invited Albanian Premier Meksi to make an official visit to Croatia. Mr. Arbnori also met with Deputy Foreign Minister Sanader.

Further on Meeting With Tudjman

LD2011172893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has received in Zagreb Pjeter Arbnori, president of the Albanian Parliament, accompanied by two deputies and Mladen Juricic, Croatian ambassador to Albania, the president's office has said in a statement.

The statement says that they discussed the worrying situation in the southeast of Europe, which poses a threat of the conflict spreading to the whole region. They also discussed mutual relations.

The need to bring an end to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina was particularly emphasized, as well as the reintegration of the UN Protected Areas [UNPA] into the legal and economic system of the Republic of Croatia.

President Tudjman stressed the urgency of resolving the problem of the areas of the Republic of Croatia which are not under its sovereignty and of ending the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where international circles have to act much more decisively.

The Albanian delegation expressed firm support for the documents of the CSCE conference and particularly for the principle of the inviolability of borders and protection of human and civil rights and rights of ethnic communities and minorities. Pjeter Arbnori, president of the Albanian parliament, stressed that Kosovo was a constituent element of former Yugoslavia, that it has its borders, and that it is now practicaly under military occupation, with human rights violations.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with their mutual relations—both political relations and developments in economic ties. The following were present at the talks: Jure Radic, head of the president's office; Zeljko Matic, the president's foreign policy advisor; Ivic Pasalic, the president's domestic policy advisor; and Bozidar Petrac, deputy president of the Croatian parliament's Chamber of Deputies.

Valentic Meets Delegation

LD2011172393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] A parliamentary delegation of the Republic of Albania, headed by Pietr Arbnori, has been received by Nikica Valentic, president of the Croatian Government. Reflecting on the prospects for economic relations between Croatia and Albania, Prime minister Valentic said inter alia:

[Begin Valentic recording] Croatia and Albania share exceptional interests in the political and economic sphere. As far as political relations are concerned, they are good, while a politically and economically strong Albania, as well as Croatia, constitute a key factor of stability in the Balkans.

As for economic relations, very serious contacts have been established in the spheres of oil and gas research, as well as technolgy and industry. Our communications are improving. A maritime link has been set up between Durres and Rijeka. There is also an air service between Zagreb and Tirana. All of this makes a sound basis for better cooperation. We agreed today on a series of contacts at ministerial level, ranging from economic issues to culture, [words indistinct], something that will further contribute to a good development of relations, I repeat, both economic and political relations between Albania and Croatia. [end recording]

Mesic, Arbnori View Cooperation

AU2011174593 Tirana ATA in English 1310 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—"Economic cooperation with Albania, which has all possibilities to be expanded in the future, will be of great interest to both countries," declared the speaker of the Croatian Parliament, Stipe Mesic, in the November 19 meeting with the Albanian parliamentary delegation, headed by the speaker of the parliament, Pjeter Arbnori.

Mr. Arbnori said that "cooperation between the two countries is necessary for strengthening peace in the Balkans and preventing the extension of the conflict to the south."

Mr. Arbnori also mentioned the understanding existing among the Albanians in Croatia and the Croatian Government.

He said that several problems of the Kosovar students in Croatia could be solved through understanding by the Croatians, because, due to the grave economic situation in Kosova, these students cannot finish studies or carry out professional practices.

During the visit to Croatia, the Albanian parliamentary delegation met with representatives of the Albanian community in Croatia, of various political parties, as well as with Mr. Kuzhnin, chairman of the Association "Mother Theresa."

News Conference Held

LD2111200493 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Report by an unidentified correspondent on an Albanian parliamentary delegation's visit to Croatian regions on 21 November; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] A news conference was held at Zagreb airport this evening at the end of a visit to Croatia by an Albanian parliamentary delegation headed by Pjeter Arbnori, the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Albania. This morning the guests were taken to Karlovac, a town on the very front line, by their host, Croatian Assembly President Stipe Mesic.

The eminent guests were received by Karlovac Mayor Ivan Benic. I have been acquainted by the plight of your town during the Serbian aggression, Pjeter Arbnori said, in response to a speech by the Karlovac mayor that focussed on the effects of the war on this part of the Croatian front. He also showed an interest in economic cooperation with Karlovac. Pjeter Arbnori also visited the front line in the Karlovac suburb of Turanj, one of the prettiest and richest parts of the town before the war.

[Arbnori, in Albanian with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] "What we saw today is of great importance to us. For, you are at war and we are yet to face something similar. It is very important that we have seen this; in the light of all this we must establish ever closer links, and Albania herself must become stronger.

"At the end of their visit the eminent guests spent some time in conversation with the people of Karlovac, and with Croatian citizens of Albanian nationality and toured one of their bakeries."

[Correspondent] Following its visit to Croatia the Albanian parliamentary delegation left for Tirana at about 1900 this evening. Shortly before the departure both the head of the Albanian parliament, Pjeter Arbnori, and his counterpart Stipe Mesic briefly outlined their views on the content and the outcome of the talks.

[Arbnori] "We must consolidate our struggle for democracy, for prosperity, and for ever closer cooperation between countries and, in particular, for cooperation to enable us to withstand greater Serbian aggression in the way that will lead us to Europe and will help us establish peace in the Balkans."

[Mesic] "We are seeing off a delegation with which we agree 100 percent. There is not a single point over which our views diverge. As you heard, we talked about interparliamentary cooperation, we made reference to cultural, sport, and economic cooperation. All channels of cooperation are open and we must immediately take measures to ensure that some outstanding issues are resolved as early as by the end of this year."

Granic, Silajdzic Agree on Bosnia Cease-Fire

LD2011000693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] The presidential envoys for the implementation of the Geneva declaration of 12 September, Vice President of Government and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia Mate Granic and President of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Haris Silajdzic met tonight at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia.

The two participants in the meeting agreed that it is necessary to hold a meeting of top-ranking commanders of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] to agree on how to bring about a cease-fire. They also agreed that the commissions for POW exchanges should meet as soon as possible in order to solve the problem of continuing the process of releasing POWs which was initially set in motion only to be suspended afterwards and that an agreement ought to be reached at the level of military authorities on humanitarian aid corridors along which the free passage of humanitarian convoys would be secured and guaranteed by both sides.

Cease-Fire Signed With Sector North Serbs

LD2011135993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Zagreb, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—Croatian authorities and Serbian representatives from a UN Protected Area signed, with UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces'] mediation, another cease-fire agreement, this time in Sector North. The sector covers the line of separation from Jasenovac to the Kupa-Kupa canal.

According to a statement from the Croatian Army command for the Zagreb operational zone, both sides agreed to stop all military activities. The agreement was to come into effect yesterday [19 November] afternoon.

According to the agreement signed near Moscenica between Sisak and Petrinja, a "hot telephone line" will be established between the two sides' military commands.

Serbian Leader Says Cease-Fire Talks May Resume

LD2111174193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1726 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Kragujevac, November 21 (TANJUG)—Prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina Djordje Bjegovic on Sunday [21 November] announced that the talks with Croatia on a ceasefire, which were recently interrupted in Norway, might resume perhaps already next week.

Bjegovic told a radio station in Kragujevac, in central Serbia, that the "starting point will be a ceasefire, afterwards we might discuss a longer phase of economic stabilization, and some of the common interests, and then (talk) about Croat-Serb relations."

Representatives of civilian and military authorities from west Slavonija, a part of the republic of Serb Krajina which is the so-called sector west of this U.N. Protected Area (UNPA), and of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia on Saturday reached an agreement on non-aggression through the mediation of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which became effective on Sunday. Similar agreements have also been reached for sectors east and north of this UNPA.

No such agreement has been reached for sector south, however. this area was the target of Croatian attacks on three occasions since the republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed an UNPA in the spring of 1992. [passage omitted]

Commenting on a recent French-German initiative for the lifting of the U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia if Serbs in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina secede to Moslems another 3-4 percent territories and peace is established between Croatia and Krajina, Bjegovic underscored: "Any forcible imposing of political solutions, which are against the will of the Serb people in the republic of Serb Krajina, is unacceptable."

Bjegovic recalled that Serbs in Krajina 'held three referendums in the past three years in which they declared themselves against life in the same state with Croats, which is a result of the Croats not wanting to live with Serbs.'

Tudjman Accuses Italy of 'Imperialistic Aims'

LD1911164293 Rome RAI Due Television Network in Italian 1200 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has accused Italy of imperialistic aims because our foreign minister, Beniamino Andreatta, suggested that the embargo be extended to Croatia. Andreatta replied by saying that he had conformed to what the EC had decided. [passage omitted]

Capodistria, the television of the Italian minority in Istria, is on strike. The reason for the protest is the decision made by Slovene television to arrogate to itself decisions on programming. The decision looks like a further restraint to the rights of the Italian minority living in Slovenia and Croatia.

IDS Official Views Istria-Zagreb Relations

AU2011062393 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 93 p 13

[Interview with Ivan Herak, parliament representative and vice president of the Istrian Democratic Congress, by Darko Pavicic in Zagreb; date not given: "'A Referendum?! On What?'"]

[Text] Ivan Herak, parliament representative and vice president of the Istrian Democratic Congress [IDS], is said to be an Istrian politician "of the pro-Croatian option," which may create the wrong picture in relation to his party colleagues; that is, their Croatianness is thus diminished in a certain way. It may be more precise to say about Mr. Herak that he is calmer and more rational than the others, certainly because he is in charge of the Department of Economy.

This political calm is what brought him close to other parties, from the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] to the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party]. While the HDZ offered him a position in the government, the HSLS recently offered him the position of number-two man in the party.

We talked to the 36-year-old Herak during one of the breaks in a Chamber of Representatives session in Zagreb.

Friendly with the President

[Pavicic] The Croatian Television attack on the IDS regarding your president's visit to Geneva is still fresh. What is your comment on that?

[Herak] I did not see the news broadcast in question, but I have a good picture of it from what I have heard. The issue is President [of the IDS] Jakovcic's visit to Geneva. I have no specific opinion on it, despite the fact that I am vice president of the party, as the president left for this trip for reasons that I am not familiar with. At any rate, I am certain that the aim of his visit is to do something positive for Istria and Croatia. The IDS does have objections to the actions of the present authorities in Croatia, and there have been conflicts, but our agreement and orientation is that, regardless of everything, we never work against the interests of Croatia.

The Croatian Television attack is part of the constant pressure that the party in power has been putting on the IDS. The HDZ has power even over this most powerful mass medium, and it uses it to the maximum extent possible. Unfortunately, the effect that is achieved by this is extremely negative. At this point, Croatia needs unity very much, but, this way, antagonism is created between the Croats in Istria and other citizens in Croatia, which is unnecessary at any period. Unfortunately, the arsenal of the attacks has not been used up in these news broadcasts; they continue.

[Pavicic] What are the present relations with Zagreb?

[Herak] They are not idyllic, they are not very good, and I, like the majority of the citizens in Istria, am sorry that they are not better. The authorities are mostly to blame for this situation, as we have done everything, as we will continue to do, in order to bring these relations to a desired level.

The celebration of the 50th anniversary of the annexation of Istria to the mother country was a good occasion for creating political peace between Istria and Zagreb. After our talks with the president of the Republic, we were almost certain that we were close to achieving that peace. Unfortunately, the president's speech in the Croatian National Theater pointed to quite another direction: the issue of the balance of power in ruling Croatia. I believe that the emphasis here is the influence of part of the emigration and one of the lobbies that has the aspiration to become the decisive power. I am not trying to defend the president, but, on the occasion that I have just mentioned, he was saying exactly what someone wanted to hear.

[Pavicic] How come, considering the fact that you established good relations with the president at Brijuni?

[Herak] The talks at Brijuni were held in a good, almost friendly atmosphere. The president showed a great deal of understanding for all the matters we presented to him then. Nothing final was agreed upon, but there was understanding for all the problems that Istria had presented to the Croatian authorities, one of the crucial ones being its status. The president was practically asked that Istria become a pilot project in the regionalization of Croatia, and that political peace be achieved at the same time, as one of the causes for the tensions and disagreements between Istria and Zagreb is that a negative political atmosphere has been created with the centralist concept and everything that goes with it. What was achieved was that there was understanding for the problems of Istria; for instance regarding demilitarization—that the army can not be located in Pula, Porec, or Rovinj, but that it has to withdraw inland. The misunderstandings regarding the Italian minority were resolved, as President Tudjman had received information that the IDS had wanted to introduce bilingualism in the entire area, which is not correct—the idea was to introduce bilingualism only in places where the necessary conditions are met.

The classical issue of the "secession of Istria" was also mentioned. The president said that he completely trusted us, the leadership of the IDS that was present at the talks.

From the "HDZ Incubator"

[Pavicic] How do you account for the appointment of the government "commissioner" for Istria?

[Herak] A commissioner?! I did not get that impression, though I consider the appointment of Mr. Nevio Setic to the position of presidential adviser to be a form of pressure. Regardless of the fact that Mr. Setic claims that he does not belong to any party, he is a man selected from the "HDZ incubator."

[Pavicic] It seems to me that you do not even know him. What kind of an adviser is a man whom the leaders of the most powerful party in Istria do not know?

[Herak] I am not familiar with Mr. Setic's contributions, on account of which he has been appointed to this

exceptionally high and honorable position. I think that his arrival in Zagreb will bring nothing in terms of quality, regardless of the fact that this is an attempt to have parallel power in Istria, as has so far been done through the Chamber of Commerce, the tourist communities, and the executive boards in the companies. Communication with Istria will be conducted through people that Istria did not choose. This is only a matter of decor, which will bring neither Istria nor Croatia anything in terms of quality.

[Pavicic] There is a certain stratification in the relations toward Zagreb. You have had contacts with Mr. Valentic, have you not?

[Herak] What matter in establishing and fostering certain relations are the people. With the appointment of Mr. Valentic to the position of prime minister, a significant progress has been made in the relations between Zagreb and Istria, regardless of the fact that there have been no significant results or achievements. However, we have done certain things, for instance, in certain projects regarding transformations, the facilities of certain companies, and certain people from Serbia....

This is quite sufficient in the phase Croatia is in. We have actually come to the question of what it is that the IDS wants.

[Pavicic] Well, what is it?

[Herak] The strategy has not yet been fully defined at this stage, but I think that the main task of the IDS at this time is to preserve the political peace in Croatia, the peace between Istria and Zagreb. The IDS can do nothing for itself; it can provide a better life for the citizens of Istria only in cooperation with the other democratic parties in Croatia. I am certain that the IDS in itself cannot provide a better life for the citizens of Istria.

[Pavicic] However, objections no longer arrive only from the HDZ?

[Herak] We have enclosed ourselves in our own backyard too much, we view our own problems exclusively, and there may be too much selfishness at times. We do not pay enough attention to the problems occurring outside the territory of the county of Istria, and we do not try to influence them enough.

Therefore, some of the opposition politicians have a point in criticizing us. I repeat, we can have regionalism, or certain regional authorizations, only when it is possible at the level of the entire Croatia, together with the other opposition parties.

A Croatian Party!

[Pavicic] You have started acting like the HDZ. The public is increasingly entertained by the fights among your fractions. How much influence does that have on the policies of the party?

[Herak] The IDS is a movement, and by saying this I have not disclosed a great secret. At a certain moment, it emerged as the "Istrian coalition" consisting of all those who fight for the preservation of the identity of Istria within Croatia and for preserving the Istrian material substance. By this I mean the transformation.

The problems arose with the arrival of the "professional power consumers" in the IDS, who then joined a small number of people from the IDS out of interest. Thus, the differences that are visible within the IDS should not be concealed. They are not ideological, though I would not exclude the possibility that, in future developments, there could be some significant disagreements, perhaps over the very ideological concept of the IDS.

[Pavicic] Will the "center," the "pro-Croatian," or the "pro-Italian" option prevail?

[Herak] The IDS is a Croatian party in any case, regardless of the fact that it does not contain the adverb "Croatian" in its name. What is certain is that its future activities will follow the path of neoliberalism.

[Pavicic] Recently there was talk of the Istrians having some sort of a referendum.

[Herak] This is gossip and mere fantasizing. A referendum?! On what? However, I am afraid that some people will believe this and add more fuel to the fire between Istria and Zagreb, which has not been extinguished yet.

U.S. Medical Aid Aircraft Lands at Zagreb Airport

LD2211134293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Excerpts] A U.S. aircraft carrying 60 tonnes of medicines and medical equipment for hospitals in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina has landed at Zagreb airport. This, the first dispatch, is worth $1.7 million, and is provided by the U.S. International Development Agency within the framework of the Hope project. [passage omitted]

The aid will be distributed to hospitals in Slavonski Brod, Osijek, Vinkovci, Dubrovnik, Sibenik, Zadar, Biograd, Karlovac, Zagreb and Split; distribution in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be overseen by the World Health Organization.

Serbian Helicopters Reported on Pakrac Frontline

LD2211113993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Last night there were provocations by Serbian terrorists along the Pakrac frontline. Two helicopters of the former Yugoslav Army flew over the Umanovac mountain chalet in an area controlled by Croatian police, en route for the occupied town of Okucani, the Pakrac police station has reported.

Serbian terrorists on the Pakrac frontline also frequently opened fire from their infantry weapons yesterday afternoon and last night until 2245, thus again not complying with the latest cease-fire. The Croatian police in the Pakrac area are armed only with side arms so they did not react to the enemy's provocations.

Federal

Bulajic on French-German Sanctions Initiative

LD2211103593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0913 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Kragujevac, November 21 (TANJUG)—Deputy Yugoslav Foreign Minister Radoslav Bulajic on Sunday [22 November] described the French-German initiative for the lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) as evidence that Europe has realized that the complex situation makes it imperative to do something much sooner than to wait for the preparation of a new conference on former Yugoslavia.

Bulajic gave an interview to Radio Kragujevac of central Serbia on Sunday. He warned that a new conference would mean the further deterioration of the situation in all areas, starting from the political and economic, to humanitarian.

An international conference on former Yugoslavia, under auspices of the United Nations (U.N.) and the then European Community (E.C.) was held in London in late August 1992 with some 30 countries from different parts of the world attending.

Pointing out that the lifting of the sanctions against the F.R.Y. was conditioned with the signing of a peace plan and the enabling of humanitarian aid to reach the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the establishment of peace between the republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia, Bulajic recalled that the F.R.Y. had recently offered to establish corridors for humanitarian aid from Belgrade and the Yugoslav Adriatic port-city of Bar to Sarajevo in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bulajic underscored that the French-German initiative, which has been transformed into an action plan by the now European Union (E.U.), prejudges a political solution for the republic of Serb Krajina which is contrary to the plan proposed by the U.N. secretary-general's special envoy Cyrus Vance, under which the republic of Serb Krajina is under U.N. protection and does not belong to the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia.

Bulajic underscored that the F.R.Y. could accept the suspension of the sanctions, but that this had to pertain both to the U.N. Security Council sanctions imposed in May 1992 and those imposed by the E.C. before that time.

The U.N. Security Council imposed comprehensive and binding sanctions against the F.R.Y. in late May 1992, and further tightened them on two occasions, labelling the F.R.Y. as the party mostly responsible for the local war of Moslems, Serbs and Croats in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed by Serbs in 1991 in parts of Croatia where they are the majority population, because they refused to accept the forcible secession of Croatia from the former Yugoslavia and the downgrading of their civil and national rights by the Croatian authorities.

UN Delays Approving Energy Imports From Russia

LD2011180993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade 20 Nov (TANJUG)—The Federal Foreign Ministry expresses great dissatisfaction over the constant postponement by the UN Security Council's sanctions committee of a positive decision allowing Yugoslavia to obtain urgent imports of energy needed on humanitarian grounds, which, as a matter of fact, is not covered by the sanctions' regime.

"The sanctions' committee has asked the FRY on several occasions to provide precise data on production, reserves, and on the way energy is consumed for humanitarian purpose, which the FRY has done. Each time we provide the data, new additional demands are made, which we have also always responded to. We have therefore received with great resentment the report that at its last session on Friday, 19 November, the sanctions committee once again postponed making a decision on gas imports from Russia under the pretext that it again needs new additional data. We are afraid that this is not a case of a lack of necessary information, but of avoiding to make an urgent positive decision," the statement forwarded to TANJUG by the Federal Foreign Ministry says.

"In the future, the FRY will continue to be willing to cooperate fully with the sanctions committee, but at the same time we appeal to the committee to do everything on its part to allow us the necessary energy for humanitarian purposes in order to avoid suffering by and casualties among the civilian population," the statement says.

Government: Croatia Practicing Ethnic Cleansing

LD1911192193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1858 GMT 19 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—The government of the new Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) accused Croatia on Friday [19 November] of violating the human rights of and practicing 'ethnic cleansing' against local Serbs, using all the methods it had used in world war two.

In a memorandum on human rights violations and 'ethnic cleansing' practiced by Croatian authorities, which will be submitted to the U.N. secretary-general and many international organisations, the Yugoslav Government says that the latest Croatian crimes against Serbs are in fact no more than a continuation of those committed against the Serb population of the nazi

puppet independent state of Croatia which existed during world war two and in which more than one million Serb civilians perished.

Croatian crimes against Serbs, including the latest committed on September 9 in the Medak pocket in the U.N.-protected republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.), where 72 Serbs, mostly civiliams, were murdered, appear to be part of a global policy of the Croatian state against the Serb people, says the memorandum.

The R.S.K. was proclaimed in 1991 in those areas within the arbitrary borders of Croatia where Serbs are the majority population, in response to Croatia's violent secession from Yugoslavia, downgrading of the Serbs, until then a full nation in the original Yugoslav Federation, to an ethnic minority, and violations of their human and national rights.

The Yugoslav Government stresses that Croatian authorities have denied the local Serbs the right to self-determination and have, in addition to the murders, expelled more than 300,000 Serbs from Croatian territory.

The memorandum contains evidence of some of the crimes committed by Croatian authorities against Serbs and says that 2,500 Serbs were liquidated from mid-October of 1991 to the end of March of 1992 in the Pakrac area in western Slavonija alone.

The large-scale 'ethnic cleansing' operation against the Serbs in western Slavonija in 1991/92 displaced the entire Serb populations of 10 urban localities and 183 rural ones, and partially emptied 87 localities of their Serbs, says the memorandum.

Role in Albania-Macedonia Conflict Denied

LD1911192493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—The FRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs today rejected as unfounded recent accusations from Tirana that tried to link Yugoslavia with the dispute between the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Albania, regarding Albania's support to the secessionist forces in the Republic of Macedonia.

The Foreign Ministry's press statement says:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has learned with amazement the contents of the recent statements by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Albania regarding the latest developments between Albania and Macedonia, which are, without any foundation, trying to link Yugoslavia with the dispute that solely concerns Macedonian-Albanian relations.

As is known, official Macedonian representatives have accused Albania of supporting and aiding, among other things, the delivery of weapons to the Albanian secessionist movement in Macedonia. However, the Albanian Foreign Ministry's statement does not mention the accusations by Macedonia, in order to conceal from the world public its own responsibility for the destructive support to the secessionists in Macedonia.

Instead of replying to Skopje's serious claims on interference in Macedonian internal affairs, Tirana invents an absurd "scenario" in order to prove Yugoslavia's alleged responsibility. Albania is demanding that the Macedonian Government stop the terror against the Albanians and not allow itself to become the victim of the conflict and destabilization, while at the same time it [Albania] keeps silent about its own responsibility for the latest events.

Mutual accusations between Macedonia and Albania are part of their relations. However, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs is, on this occasion, forced to issue a statement and refute the unfounded accusations by Tirana, which imputes to others the responsibility for its dangerous policy. Thus, Albania in fact wants to diminish its own responsibility for the support of the secessionist forces in Kosovo-Metohija and Macedonia, as well as for many other problems that it has with neighboring countries.

The latest revelations on Albania's involvement in events in Macedonia confirm what the FRY has noted on several occasions—by instigating secessionism in Kosovo-Metohija and Macedonia, and with its open territorial aspirations toward its neighbor—which hide the policy of creating a "greater Albania" through changes of borders and the destabilization of relations—Albania represents the main source of danger for peace in the Balkans.

Such Albanian policy stands apart from the efforts invested by Balkan countries into creating an atmosphere of trust and cooperation, and hampers the endeavors to restore peace and stability in the region. The FRY will continue working—both in relation to Albania and in its overall activity in the region—on the development of good neighborly relations, which are the safest path toward the establishing of a permanent peace and stability in the Balkans, the statement of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs says.

Production of Medicines Reportedly Falling

AU1911211893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Report by Angelina Vucic]

[Text] [Vucic] A news conference organized by the Federal Secretariat for Information was held today, at which Velibor Popovic, federal minister for labor, health, and social policy, and representatives of eight Yugoslav producers of medicines said that the production of medicines and medical equipment has been decreasing all the time.

Regardless of the fact that this sphere is not included in the decision of the Security Council, as Minister Popovic put it, regular imports of necessary medicines and raw materials have, nevertheless, not been possible so far. Even when all necessary documents are ensured, the shipments are stopped at the Hungarian border.

Miodrag Babic, director of the Vrsac Hemofarm Medicine Factory, said the following:

[Popovic] I had an opportunity to talk with eight out of 12 members of the UN Committee for Sanctions in New York, as I wanted to personally meet these people who are deciding our fate. I have learned one thing: It is obvious that decisions are not made in the Committee for Sanctions, but governments of the countries that are members of this Committee for Sanctions are deciding about the kind of policy, that is, what the results of voting are going to be.

[Vucic] Expressing fear that our country will remain without medicines, Velimir Brankovic, director of the Galenika Factory, said the following:

[Brankovic] It was a horrible discovery when we realized that, despite the fact that raw materials for medicines were not on the list of banned items, they were placed on it by an additional activity by the U.S. Administration. Through a series of additional measures, this was further developed with a view to preventing us realizing normal production.

[Vucic] At the news conference, it was said that, as sanctions are now being drastically implemented, the chances are small for the release of Yugoslav funds abroad for purchasing necessary medicines and raw materials.

Serbia

Seselj Challenges Milosevic to 'Television Duel'

AU2111165093 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 93 p 5

[Report by M. Mikuljanac: "Let Us Clear Things Up in Front of Cameras"]

[Text] I challenge Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to a television duel, because this is the best way, directly, in front of an audience, to confront our views on all political, ideological, and party issues. This was stated by Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], at a news conference yesterday.

The preelection confrontation between the leaders of the ruling and the strongest opposition parties is a rule in the entire democratic world, and Milosevic should not show that he does not respect world democratic achievements by declining this duel. This was Seselj's message to the man who considered him to be his favorite leader of the opposition until recently.

Seselj continued his barrage on the socialists yesterday. He said that the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] does not have any trump cards for the elections, that the party leaders are avoiding public confrontation with the leading members of the SRS, that they are panic-stricken, and that the "panic has reached such proportions that Nebojsa Covic [head of the Belgrade branch of the SPS] is even blaming the opposition for the snow in Belgrade."

The Radicals particularly criticized the visit by [Foreign Minister] Vladislav Jovanovic to Libya, describing it as "the biggest blunder in the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Slobodan Milosevic." He who is expressing solidarity with Libya, a country that organized the downing of civilian airplanes, he is working directly against the interests of the Serbian people, Seselj said, demanding the replacement of the federal government, Minister Jovanovic, and Radoman Bozovic [chairman of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Citizens].

Commenting on cooperation with other opposition parties, Seselj said that the reason for disputes with other parties in the past were principles, that there is currently "thawing" in relations, and that the future lies in cooperation. Seselj also "hailed as honorable and honest the stand of Vojislav Kostunica concerning the witch hunt of the Radicals," saying that the Democratic Party of Serbia is one of the parties with which cooperation is possible.

The Radicals are still optimists concerning the elections in Serbia and do not believe that the SPS will win the majority because "there is no one else left to vote for them that had not already voted in the past." Seselj also holds the view that not a single vote of the SRS will go to [Zeljko Raznjatovic] Arkan's party [Party of Serbian Unity]: "No one right in his mind will vote for the mafiosos," he said.

In a reply to a journalist's question whether "he will be a victim of the regime," Seselj said that he could not be a victim because his position is so favorable that everything is working in his direction. We have mastered the craft of politics and our final blow will be the ousting of Slobodan Milosevic from power. We are now only waiting for the most opportune moment to do that, the leader of the Radicals said.

Promising that help (both humanitarian and military) to the Krajinas would be greater than at present if the SRS wins the elections, Seselj issued a threat to the Socialists: "The greater the regime's attacks on the SRS, the harder the fall of the regime with Slobodan Milosevic."

[Box, p 5]

Leskovac Is SRS's Candidate for RSK President

The SRS will take part in the elections in the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] in all constituencies with the maximum number of candidates. This was stated at the

press conference yesterday. The SRS will have its presidential candidate. This will be Rade Leskovac, leader of the SRS in the RSK.

Commenting on a letter of the RSK leadership (Hadzic, Novakovic, Bjegovic, Martic), in which the leadership dissociated itself from the SRS activities, Seselj said that the letter was written in Belgrade and then "shoved to the corrupted Krajina leadership to sign it."

Draskovic Views Elections, Past Activities

AU1911200493 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 93 p 5

[Interview with Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, by Radica Momcilovic; place and date not given: "Vuk Changes Only His Nature"—first four paragraphs are POLITIKA EKSPRES introduction]

[Text] The leopard changes its spots, but not its nature. Things are just the opposite in Vuk Draskovic's case. This former super nationalist has managed to stay afloat in numerous rapids in the past three years. On the eve of the third elections, he has found himself in the waters of civic peacemakers. The only difference is that he has substituted the comfort of the living room for windswept provincial town squares. Nevertheless, the flirtation with the voters continues.

The Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] will take part in the elections, it will not take part in the elections; the SPO wants justice in media promotions and will not accept what others are accepting; the SPO is withdrawing, it is not withdrawing.... In the meantime, at the party headquarters on Terazije [Belgrade district], the electoral committee is grinding away full blast, and promises are abundant.

I came to the party's Presidency, to Vuk's [Vuk is Serbo-Croatian for wolf] lair, as he himself calls it. He shares the same roof with the famous "Seher" restaurant, where today you can still enjoy the best tufahijas [local delicacy] in town, at the foot of Topcider. The entrance faces the parking lot. No placard. Our host says: "We put it up, somebody takes it down."

Instead of the question prepared earlier, the well-known refrain of a children's poem comes to mind: "Vuk, Vuk, you lazy bug, what will future generations think of this....," and I immediately quote a line from a patriotic poetry as an introduction to the interview: "Generations are judged by their deeds...."

[Draskovic] I hope that future generations will not say anything to be ashamed of about me or my activities. Anyway, time is the best judge. Distance is needed in order to be able to view these evil times honestly and without discriminating. Because if you blow on live coals, you have to move away in order not to singe your face, eyes, eyelashes.

Where is the Serbian Guard Buried

[Momcilovic] In the beginning there was the star, then Vuk and the seven kids (meaning seven parties), followed by De-Ko [expansion unknown] and the Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS]. Where and with whom are you now?

[Draskovic] De-Ko was never formed. DEPOS was formed. This really is the best name for the joint roof of the democratic opposition. DEPOS exists, and all those who wish to leave it have the right to do so. Good luck to them. However, all those who care about DEPOS as the symbol of unification of the democratic forces in Serbia, will remain in DEPOS or can join it.

[Momcilovic] Can you explain the genesis of your party engagement: How is it that, in the course of three years, you have changed so many colors and so many opinions?

[Draskovic] I have not changed colors, and I would ask you to produce evidence before answering this. There is not a single party on the Serbian political scene that was more consistent, principled, and true to its program than the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO]. Everything else is propaganda promoted by the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] and certain opposition parties.

[Momcilovic] When did your militant streak disappear? The Serbian Guard was established under your patronage, you were the first person to wave the flag of all the Serbs, you threatened the Sandzak Muslims with chopping off the hand that would raise the green flag with the crescent-moon....

[Draskovic] I was never militant. I was the one who constantly repeated that it was better to spend 10 years battling at the negotiating table, then 10 minutes on the front. Moreover, the Serbian Guard was not established under the patronage of the SPO. Our program does favor the restoration of the Serbian Army, which would nurture the tradition and the honor of the Serbian officer and soldier. When this war began and when national flags were put into the hands of the national basement, we launched an initiative and asked the Serbian Assembly to form the Guard [sentence as published]. What came, instead of an answer, were bullets in the back of the late Giska, the commander of the First Voluntary Unit, and bullets in the back and face—in the middle of Belgrade—of the late Beli. Since then I have been saying that their graves have buried the Serbian Guard, but also that this is where the foundations of the real Serbian Army lie.

Had you been in Novi Pazar on that day, 16 September 1990, you would never have asked this question. At the time, I said that if democratic Serbia, which would respect all religions and everyone's dignity, would be populated by idiots and lunatics who would wave Turkish and Ustasha flags throughout the land of Raska [Sandzak], then these idiots would have to lose their hands and flags. This is an author's metaphor and a politician's stance.

[Momcilovic] Then you suddenly had this idea that you would go and defend the Muslims from the Serbian aggressors in your native Herzegovina?

[Draskovic] Your question is a lie, madam! My wife said in a television program that I have no one to defend Gacko from, since there are no Muslims there any more. I would have said the same thing had I been there. And I would have added that I would defend my Muslim neighbors from the Serbian outcasts in the same way in which Hodza Fazlagic, Huso Sakovic, or the Kazinici [not further specified], whose goodness and compassion I incorporated into the character of Sikter Efendija in the novel "The Knife." In 1941 they defended their Orthodox neighbors from the Muslim scum and rabble. I would stand in front of the barrels of the Serbian scum and say: "Kill me first!" That is how I would defend both my neighbors and the honor of the Serbian people.

[Momcilovic] Rumor has it that one of your grandfathers was part of the protection corps [Schutzkor—Austro-Hungarian irregular police in Bosnia prior to and during World War I], and many people would like to see your baptismal certificate....

[Draskovic] Madam, my grandfather was Allah himself, I was never baptized. You have no idea that I am not a Serb, that my name is not Vuk, that I was not born on earth. I am a Martian.... Yes, madam. I am whatever you want me to be.

[Momcilovic] Would you dare go visit your native Gacko nowadays?

[Draskovic] What would I do there, when all my neighbors are gone? I would have to walk with my head bowed, to be ashamed because Serbian history has been shamed, because someone had to leave his homestead or was killed only because he belonged to a different church. The Serbian face has grown black in this war. Crime is crime, and if we start doing the same things as the Ustasha, then I have to ask you where the difference is? The Serbhood of crime is not my Serbhood.

You Have To Rise to Power....

[Momcilovic] Just recently I had the chance to see a copy of GLAS CRKVE [Voice of the Church] from 1989. At that point, you were still unsure as to whether you knew how to cross yourself, or whether you were still an atheist or had already turned believer. Nowadays, all your rallies are in the name of God!

[Draskovic] You have not understood a single thing. I said: You must first get to know a man in order to love him, but you must first love God in order to get to know him. This is hard for intellectuals, because they would first like to get to know God, to see him and touch him.

[Momcilovic] Are you making all the promises to the people—apartments, pensions, jobs, prosperity—in the same name?

[Draskovic] If DEPOS were to win the parliamentary majority in the Serbian Assembly now, on St. Nicholas's Day, at the same time next year you would see a smile on the faces of the people throughout Serbia; everything would be different, this country would be on the road to recovery and progress, while Vardar Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbian Krajina would be under the same state roof as Serbia and Montenegro. Only Western Slavonia to the right of the Neretva River would be in Croatia. All this without a single bullet fired and with the support of the people. I am not ashamed to admit that state doors are open to me throughout the world: Moscow, Athens, Rome, Paris, London, Washington.... and you can denounce me for being a national traitor of Serbia. I am one. I am a traitor of an impoverished Serbia, a Serbia in the ghetto. I have already secured substantial financial aid, but I have to rise to power in order to realize this aid. And I always carry out what I promise.

[Momcilovic] Who is going to give you all this money and why? Because of your beautiful eyes and groomed beard? What have you promised—if you win—in return?!

[Draskovic] Yes, I will get all the money on account of my beautiful eyes and groomed beard. You have no idea how much the world loves them. Robbers, mobsters, profiteers, that call to your children from the TV screens to come and be killed so that they can fill their saddlebags, those that pray to God that the sanctions are not lifted because they make a profit of four liters of gasoline for every liter, all the while proudly slapping their chests and lying that the planet exists in order to hate the Serbs. The poor people! Well, not a single cent exists that they have stolen that I do not know about, or will not find out in which country and what bank account it is in. If on St. Nicholas's Day—and it is my family patron's day—we win the parliamentary majority, the first law will concern the freezing of accounts abroad, and I will stand before Serbia and say: I guarantee you that I will go before the governments of these countries and make sure that all this suffering borne by the people is returned to Serbia. We are talking about huge sums. They are lying, there is money. And what loans for foreign investments we have already negotiated abroad—that is another story.

[Momcilovic] If it is really true that it was the people's funds that the "robbers of the state" took out of the country, can you tell us the figures and who the gentlemen in question are?

[Draskovic] Do you want me to dictate 3,400 names that are currently on our list in so little space as this? Anyway, you either already know or can guess most of the names.

[Momcilovic] Do you think the people trust you? Only yesterday you were saying: "Shame on you, Serbia!"

[Draskovic] When did I say so? I said that in 1990, yes, if this is Serbia's will, if THESE [individuals] are Serbia, and if THEY want to make Serbia happy, then I do not belong to this Serbia....

[Momcilovic] What will you do if you lose again?

[Draskovic] The question could be: What are we going to do if Serbia loses again, what are we going to do if the future, hope, and life lose? What are we going to do if we lose everything of any value? We will have to search for an answer to this together.

[Box, p 5]

A Repeat of the Reichstag

[Momcilovic] Last summer, as you were storming the Assembly, a camera recorded—in image and sound—your calls to the "gutless nation" to join you in this, you must admit, barbaric venture?

[Draskovic] Neither my wife—who you are alluding to—nor I said this. No one stormed the Assembly, but rather a fascist hand knocked-out the deputy and vice president of the SPO. I was on my way to see the injured individual, but I was not allowed into the Assembly. A police officer almost strangled me at the entrance. Later, when the people gathered, I only asked for a loudspeaker in order to schedule a rally against fascism for the following day. Now you are all saying that the SPS is a fascist party, but at the time you all defended it! Who killed officer Nikolic? An idiot shot him in the back from a range of 30 cm, fully aware of what he was doing. Do you know that, on that night, I was shot at twice, my nose was singed.... That night was a repetition of the Reichstag. The goal was to kill a police officer and Vuk, and to ban the SPO!

[Momcilovic] Did you read (Kurtsie Malaparte) and his proposals for bringing down the technology of power?

[Draskovic] Yes, but the SPO never resorted to this, nor will it.

[Box, p 5]

They Are Lying When They Blame the Sanctions

[Momcilovic] Fine, you have had your Calvary. You have become a saint, a martyr in the world media. At a time when your name was on everyone's lips, did you devote a moment's thought to the fact that nobody was mentioning the babies who were dying for lack of oxygen, children without milk, elderly people without medicine? Is that justice?

[Draskovic] Why don't you ask Milosevic, the SPS, and their authorities who have brought Serbia to this? Even in Karadjordjevic's time there was no starvation. They are lying when they blame the sanctions! Before the sanctions, Serbia exported milk, wheat, plum brandy, and cooking oil. We always had that. Where is that now? And you are sticking this in my face now! What could I have done in prison? My only defense was to refuse food, to conquer THEM with death. I was ready to do so. And things turned out the way they did.

[Box, p 5]

And That Is Why We Are Having Elections....

[Momcilovic] How is it that, in your latest public appearances, you make no mention of TV Bastille or President Milosevic? You are even in favor of leaving President Milosevic in peace until the end of his mandate!

[Draskovic] I think it would be best for this country if he were to resign tomorrow. However, the man just does not want to do it. I cannot convince him to do so, nor can I force him. Therefore, we have to keep in mind the fact that we have a man who is causing damage, but who will not budge. That is why we are having elections. If we win the parliamentary majority, we shall see what we are going to do next.

I Am Not Khasbulatov

[Momcilovic] Do you believe that such an act—like the one in front of the Assembly—would be possible in any other country in the world, and that the international public would approve? For example, how would you fare in Danielle Mitterrand's France?

[Draskovic] Mr. Ruslan Khasbulatov, the great protector of the orthodox religion on Belgrade Television, regardless of the fact that he is a Muslim, as soon as he got the chance to address 10,000 demonstrators, ordered: shed blood, shoot, storm the White House, the Television. Vuk Draskovic, however, on several occasions had the support of hundreds of thousands of people, who were waiting for his orders to storm the Television and some other places, but I did not allow it. I am not Khasbulatov.

Muslim Leader Demands Autonomy for Sandzak

LD1911214693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1958 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] New York, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—Sulejman Ugljanin, president of the "Muslim National Council of Sandzak," held a news conference at the UN headquarters on Friday [19 November], where he demanded autonomy for this region of Serbia and accused the local authorities of genocide against Muslims.

The news conference, sponsored by the [Bosnian] Muslim mission at the United Nations, was attended, apart from the personnel in charge of the conference, by two U.S. plain-clothes policemen and four journalists, which is the best indicator of the Muslim ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey's recent political rating.

"The aim of our being here is to inform the world of the tragedy of the Bosnian people in Sandzak", Ugljanin said. He added that during his American tour he held talks with several politicians, senators, and congressmen, and said they showed understanding for the problems facing the Muslims, or as he persisted in calling them, "the Bosnians" in Sandzak. He accused the Serbian and

Montenegrin authorities of conducting terror against the Muslim population, of murders, harassment, and of blowing up Muslim houses.

Unfortunately, Ugljanin said, "Serbian propaganda has recently won over world public opinion, and even the lifting of sanctions has been talked about, which would be a tragedy for the Bosnians in Sandzak." Ugljanin added that his organization is demanding that the problem of Sandzak be internationalized and that the issue be resolved within the framework of the conference on Yugoslavia.

In reply to a journalist's question, Ugljanin said he is not asking for secession of Sandzak—provided "Bosnia-Herzegovina remains united in its borders—but only for "demilitarization and cultural and political autonomy."

Ugljanin accused the United Nations of "being on the Serbian side," and also said that some members of the peacekeeping forces "took part in foreign exchange smuggling and rape" together with the Serbs.

"But if the United Nations does not want to do it, we expect the United States, as a great power, to stop the genocide against the non-Serb population in the former Yugoslavia," Sulejman Ugljanin said.

Competition Expected in Elections in Belgrade

LD1911171393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1413 GMT 19 Nov 93

[By Nadezda Milutinovic]

[Text] Belgrade, November 19 (TANJUG)—Three leading opposition parties in the Yugoslav republic of Serbia have nominated their most prominent candidates in the Belgrade polling district for the December 19 parliamentary elections and a heavy competition is expected in the capital not only between the opposition and the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) but among opposition parties as well.

The election lists of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) and the Democratic Party (DS) will be headed by their respective leaders Vuk Draskovic, Vojislav Kostunica and Zoran Djindjic.

Draskovic's earlier appeal to opposition parties to unite and put up an single list has failed to receive a serious response, apart from several minor parties which have jointed Draskovic's SPO.

Hoping for a unification of the opposition, the SPO was the last party to submitted its list of candidates, which is headed by Draskovic who has for the first time entered a competition for parliamentary seats.

SPO spokesman Ivan Kovacevic said Draskovic's nomination should not be viewed as an attempt to test his strength against Kostunica, his hitherto ally in DEPOS (an alliance of several opposition parties).

However, DSS spokesman Milorad Jovanovic voiced a different view and said that Kostunica and Draskovic would indeed measure swords. He added that the three strongest opposition parties had three different programmes and that one election list would confuse the voters.

Many observers believe that strong election lists of the three influential opposition parties may divide Belgrade, which has been the opposition's stronghold, and that the socialists and some other parties might get the benefit of it.

Between 45 and 105 registered parties are expected to participate in the parliamentary elections, which were called after the dissolving of parliament on October 20.

Only four parties—DEPOS (including the SPO and the DSS), the DS (from which the DSS had broken off), the SPS and the Serbian Radical Party of Vojislav Seselj—won seats in the republican parliament in last year's elections in Serbia.

As the election campaign is in full swing, opposition party leaders are giving no quarter to the ruling socialists, accusing them of a total economic downfall and dramatic deterioration of the living standards in Serbia.

The opposition is not losing hope to win more seats in the republican parliament, at least in the total score, than the SPS, whose list is headed by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in all of the nine polling districts.

The Alliance of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia—whose Smederevo list is headed by Mirjana Markovic, the wife of President Milosevic and a senior party official—has also nominated candidates in all polling districts in the republic.

Ministry Refutes FRY Army Version of Incident

AU1911182993 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 18 Nov 93

[Text] On the occasion of the statement issued by the Information Service of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army in Belgrade today, which points out that the Macedonian border patrol was yesterday caught on the territory of the FRY and not on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia has issued a statement for the media signed by Minister Ljubomir Frckovski that says as follows:

In order to inform the public more objectively, we shall present the facts. An investigation was carried out at the site of the incident that took place on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia by the investigating judge, public (?prosecutor), and expert teams of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Defense of our country.

Second, the site of the incident was sketched and photographed and the tracks of the armed group of the

Yugoslav Army and of the vehicles it used have been secured and presented to interested parties.

Third, experts of the Kumanovo Land Registry Office established that the incident took place 300 meters into the territory of the Republic of Macedonia and the owner of the field regularly pays taxes to the Republic of Macedonia. The field is registered in the land registry book of Kumanovo commune.

Fourth, the Yugoslav authorities failed to come out to the site of the incident although [words indistinct] the Commission for Border Incidents of the Republic of Macedonia had asked in writing that an FRY commission be sent to the site. Regarding diplomatic means, the incident was reported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and a protest note was also sent.

Further, the announcement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia says the following: The General Staff of the Yugoslav Army should explain the following facts to the public:

First, may a border be guarded by a vehicle owned by citizens and bearing civilian insignia, as well as with the participation of civilian persons including a well-known private businessman from Vrnjacka Banja who also participated in kidnapping the policemen and soldier of the Republic of Macedonia?

Second, why was pressure exerted on these people to make statements that they were caught on the territory of the FRY and not where it had really happened? The policemen and the soldier did not make such statements, but in fact explained exactly where the incident had taken place.

At the end of its statement, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia says the following: If there is any truth in what the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army said, we are again asking that country's authorities to go to the site of the incident so that a joint investigation can be carried out.

By the way, esteemed listeners, a joint meeting of representatives of the Republic of Macedonia and the FRY was convened to take place at the site of the incident at 1300 today, but the meeting was not held as no delegation of our neighbors appeared. No explanation for this has been given.

Montenegro

Railway, Truck Drivers End Strike

LD1911153993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1308 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Podgorica, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—The railway transport in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro returned to normal on Friday [19 November], after the striking Montenegrin engine-drivers received assurances from the republican government during the night that their demands would be met.

The government promised that the engine-drivers, who striked for three days, would both get higher pays and receive them regularly.

Truck drivers of Serbia and Montenegro also ended a four-day blockade of the roads between the two Yugoslav republics on Thursday night.

The governments of the two republics have promised to meet the demands of the truck drivers and simplify the red tape at the border crossings between the two republics, which has been slowing down the traffic and the movement of goods in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Kosovo

Bukoshi Calls For Respect of Laws by Emigrants

AU2011165893 Tirana ATA in English 1306 GMT 20 Nov 93

["'Albanians Must Respect the Laws of the Countries They Live in'—Appeal of Kosovar Premier Bujar Bukoshi"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 20 (ATA)—On November 19, the premier of the republic of Kosova, Bujar Bukoshi, called on the Albanians living and working outside Kosova to respect the laws of the countries they live in. In a report transmitted by the Information Center of Kosova, Mr. Bukoshi thanks the governments and peoples of the countries in which Kosovars live as refugees and expresses worry over nationalist groups in several countries who refuse to coexist with other ethnic groups. The Kosovar premier calls on all the Albanians, wherever they are, to avoid provocations which blacken Albanians' reputation, built up with the toil and sweat of the Albanian workers for more than 20 years.

Regarding some illegal acts of the Albanians in Europe, Mr. Bukoshi says that the government of the republic of Kosova fully dissociates itself from them.

Bukoshi Issues Appeal

AU2011182593 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 234 in English 19 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Kosova Prime Minister Appeals to the Kosova Albanians Abroad"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] An appeal from the Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, prime minister of the republic of Kosova, addressed to the Kosova Albanians abroad says: "The government of the republic of Kosova expresses deep concern about the continuing waves of repression against that Albanians in Kosova [words indistinct] structure of the Albanian

territories. We deplore the fact that hundreds of thousands of our young people are obliged to flee the country in order to avoid becoming targets of aggression. Considering this to be an interim argument [word indistinct] express our gratitude to the European governments for the sympathy, understanding, and hospitality they have extended to the Albanians across Europe.

"We are also aware of the difficulties which refugees from war zones do cause to the economies of these countries and to the worrying nationalists trends which refuse coexistence with some ethnic groups and individuals. In this context, I avail myself of the opportunity to appeal to all the Albanians, wherever they are, to act in full compliance with the laws of the countries they currently reside in, and to avoid provocations which stain the excellent reputation of the Albanians, which the toil of those who have worked abroad for twenty years or more has created.

"The government of the republic of Kosova is not unrealistic and unaware of the existence and conduct of illegal activities by some Albanians [words indistinct] of such behavior in the strongest terms. We reiterate that, while statements and having talks [words indistinct] understanding of the situation, we have also agreed that they exercise their full law-enforcing discretion in order to ensure compliance with the norms of their societies.

"The government of Kosova, on behalf of its citizens, has also assured these governments of its cooperation. Kosova cannot suffer any more, and her democratic spirit and aspirations must not be corroded and isolate. Kosova needs you to be in the forefront of the long struggle ahead and you must share the responsibility which this huge task entails."

Army To Be Quartered in Elementary Schools

AU2211121393 Tirana ATA in English 1122 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 22 (ATA)—Last week several high ranking officers of the Serbian army went to several schools in Kosova with the intention of arranging to quarter Serbian army units in them. According to the information center of Kosova, involved were the Migjeni Elementary School in Sibofc of the Obiliqi Commune, the Liria Elementary School in Turicec of Skenderaj and also the Perparimi Elementary School in Jashanice of Klines Commune.